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AESCHYLUS

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AESCHYLUS

PERSIANS
SEVEN AGAINST THEBES
SUPPLIANTS
PROMETHEUS BOUND

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY
ALAN H. SOMMERSTEIN

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CONTENTS

PREFACE	vii
INTRODUCTION	ix
BIBLIOGRAPHY	xxxvi
SIGLA	xxxix
ABBREVIATIONS	xliv
PERSIANS	1
SEVEN AGAINST THEBES	139
SUPPLIANTS	277
PROMETHEUS BOUND	432
INDEX	564

PREFACE

The Loeb edition of Aeschylus by Herbert Weir Smyth is now more than eighty years old, and its translation is couched in a pastiche version of the English of several centuries earlier. It was augmented in 1957 by the addition of an invaluable appendix by Hugh Lloyd-Jones, updating the Fragments section in the light of papyrus discoveries, but no changes were made to the original portion of the work. Aeschylus has long been overdue for a Loeb edition that would provide a text based on up-to-date information and a translation intelligible to the present-day reader. This, following in the footsteps of the admirable Loeb editions of the other great Greek dramatists by Geoffrey Arnott (Menander), Jeffrey Henderson (Aristophanes), David Kovacs (Euripides) and Hugh Lloyd-Jones (Sophocles), I have endeavoured to provide, together with annotation which, while remaining within the space limitations necessitated by the format of the series, is somewhat more generous than has hitherto been usual. I am deeply grateful to Jeffrey Henderson for giving me the opportunity to do so; I wish also to thank all who have assisted me with information or advice, including copies of published or unpublished work which I might otherwise have overlooked or found hard to trace. I am grateful to the School of Humanities, University of Nottingham, for two semesters of

research leave in 2003 and 2006, but for which this project would have taken far longer to complete. I am happy to recall and acknowledge my debt to my teachers, especially Martin Lowry with whom I first read Aeschylus; to my Nottingham colleagues—I cannot imagine a more pleasant human environment in which to work—among whom particular mention is due to Patrick Finglass and to Isabelle Torrance, now of the University of Notre Dame, Indiana; and not least to my students, many of whom have contributed, directly or indirectly, valuable ideas to this edition, often without knowing it and sometimes, very likely, without my being consciously aware of it.

I have not in general been able to refer to studies which appeared, or came to my notice, later than the summer of 2007.

Alan H. Sommerstein
Nottingham, October 2007

INTRODUCTION

Aeschylus, the dramatist who made Athenian tragedy one of the world's great art-forms, was born, possibly in 525/4 BC,[1] at Eleusis (T 8)[2] in western Attica, a town famous as the home of the immensely popular mystery-cult of Demeter and Persephone. His father Euphorion is re-

[1] Dates given in this form refer to the Athenian calendar year, which normally began and ended soon after midsummer. No source explicitly states the year of Aeschylus' birth, but we are told that he was twenty-five when he put on his first production (T 2.4)—which was no later than the 70th Olympiad (500/499 to 497/6) (T 52)—and thirty-five when he fought at Marathon in 490 (T 11); hence the statement that his death in 456/5 was at the age of sixty-nine (T 3) is likely to represent the mainstream ancient view on the subject, though the main ancient biography says he lived sixty-three years (T 1.50). The divergent figures given by other sources (died at 58, T 2.9; seven years older than Sophocles [i.e. born about 502], T 5.3) are inconsistent with our other data about his career, and must be mere errors. It does not follow that the date 525/4 is accurate—it may well have been reached by the common ancient chronological practice of taking a notable event in a person's career, in this case his first victory in 485/4, as his *floruit* and assuming he was then forty years old—but it can hardly be more than five or six years out, either way.

[2] References in the form "T [number]" refer to the Testimonia in *TrGF* iii 31–108.

ported to have been of aristocratic birth (T 1.2), and it is at any rate certain that in later years the family followed the lifestyle of the leisured class: about a dozen surviving vase inscriptions, datable in or around the 440s, proclaim, in the traditional manner of Greek upper-class homoeroticism, the beauty of Aeschylus' younger son Euaeon.[3]

He made his début as a tragic dramatist between 499 and 496 (T 52). Three outstanding practitioners, Pratinas, Choerilus and Phrynichus, were already active, and the newcomer was not to win first prize for another twelve or fifteen years. It is uncertain whether any plays from this early period of Aeschylus' activity were preserved for posterity to read:[4] of the work of Phrynichus, far more popular at the time, only some late plays seem to have survived into later generations[5] —his *Capture of Miletus* (493 or 492) is famous, or notorious, only because Herodotus (6.21.2) had occasion to mention it, for not a word of its text survives. Perhaps it was not until a few years later, possibly in the early or middle 480s, that the scripts of tragic dramas began to be copied and preserved.

Before then, and before Aeschylus at last reached the top rank of his profession with his first victory in 484

[3] J. D. Beazley, *Athenian Red-figure Vases*[2] (Oxford, 1963) 1579.

[4] It is widely held, on the evidence of vase painting, that the trilogy based on the *Iliad* was produced as early as the 490s; but see the introductory note to *Myrmidons* (vol. iii).

[5] There are only ten plays by Phrynichus of which we know even the titles, and only five from which fragments are quoted by ancient authors.

(T 54a), had come the Persian attack on Athens which was defeated in the battle of Marathon. Aeschylus fought in the battle (T 1.10; 2.2–3; 11–13; 54; 162.3–4), and one of the 192 Athenian dead was his brother:

> In this struggle . . . Cynegeirus son of Euphorion seized hold of an enemy ship by the sternpost, and fell when his hand was severed by an axe (Herodotus 6.114 = T 16).

Aeschylus is also reported to have taken part in the battles of Salamis and Plataea in 480/79 (T 1.11–12); this is plausible enough, since Athens put forth its maximum effort in both campaigns, and his presence at Salamis is confirmed by a contemporary, Ion of Chios (T 14).[6] This gives his account of the battle in *Persians,* produced eight years later, a unique status: there is perhaps no other battle in ancient history of which we possess a substantial eyewitness account written down so soon after the event for the ears of an audience most of whom had been eyewitnesses themselves.

From 484 to the end of his career Aeschylus won first prize thirteen times in all (T 1.51);[7] especially after the

[6] However, stories of the heroism at Salamis of his brother Ameinias (T 1.11; 49–51) are mythical; the Ameinias who was the first to attack an enemy ship at Salamis (Herodotus 8.84) was of the deme Pallene, not Eleusis.

[7] The Suda (T 2.7) credits him with twenty-eight victories; if not an error, this must include those gained posthumously. Each production comprised four plays, so that fifty-two of Aeschylus' plays (perhaps about two-thirds of his total output) formed part of victorious productions.

death of Phrynichus in 473/2 he may have been victorious almost every time he competed. By now tragedy was becoming prestigious enough for an embryo reading public to have come into existence, perhaps at this stage mainly confined to other literary artists in Athens and elsewhere, so that some scripts of plays from this period survived for later generations to read. We cannot, however, identify the plays concerned, since with the possible exception of the Achilles tetralogy[8] we have no information that could enable us to date, even approximately, any particular Aeschylean play produced before 472.

According to his ancient *Life* (T 1.33) Aeschylus was well enough known as early as 476/5 to be invited to Sicily by Hieron, the ruler of Syracuse, who was then founding the new city of Aetna[9] and commissioned Aeschylus to produce *The Women of Aetna* for the occasion. At that time, however, Phrynichus was probably still the leading figure in the field—indeed he had just won first prize with a production financed by no less a person than Themistocles[10]—and it is on the whole more likely that the Sicilian première of *The Women of Aetna* took place some years later (see below) and that an ancient scholar wrongly associated it with the known date of Aetna's foundation.

It may well have been in 473 that Phrynichus died, after a career of some forty years; at any rate Aeschylus, feeling

[8] See introductory note to *Myrmidons*.

[9] For its foundation date see Diodorus Siculus 11.49.1.

[10] Plutarch, *Themistocles* 5.5. It is generally supposed that this was the occasion when Phrynichus produced his plays about the Persian War, but while this may well be true, there is no explicit ancient evidence in its support.

himself Phrynichus' successor, began his *Persians*, produced in the spring of 472 (T 55), with a salute to Phrynichus' memory in the form of a near-quotation of the opening line of *his* play of a few years earlier on the same theme. This production by Aeschylus was financed by the young Pericles, and won first prize.

There is ancient evidence, going back to Eratosthenes (3rd century BC), that *Persians* was produced again at Syracuse under the auspices of Hieron (T 56); there is reason to believe that this visit took place in 470 and that it also featured the production of *Women of Aetna*. This was the year when Hieron, on winning the chariot-race at the Pythian Games, caused his name to be proclaimed not as "Hieron of Syracuse" but as "Hieron of Aetna". Pindar, celebrating the victory in the ode now known as the *First Pythian*, recalled the victories achieved over the Persians by Athens at Salamis and by Sparta at Plataea and linked them with the almost simultaneous victory of Hieron and his brother Gelon over the Carthaginians at Himera as having "pulled Greece back from grievous servitude".[11] It would chime very well with this publicity campaign on Hieron's part if he also sponsored productions, by the greatest dramatist of the day, of one play (maybe two) celebrating the recent victories over the "barbarians"[12] and an-

[11] Pindar, *Pythian* 1.72–80. See Introduction to *Persians* on the possibility that Aeschylus worked into one of his other plays of 472, *Glaucus of Potniae*, a prophetic reference to the victory of Himera; if this is correct, of course, it is an almost inevitable inference that on this visit to Sicily Aeschylus produced *Glaucus of Potniae* too.

[12] In an ancient Greek context "barbarian" (*barbaros*) means "non-Greek" or "non-Greek-speaking".

other providing the city of Aetna with the prestige of a mythological past. Perhaps one production was put on at Syracuse and the other at Aetna itself.

About the same time, a new tragic dramatist, Sophocles, nearly thirty years younger than Aeschylus, was making his début. Plutarch, in his life of Cimon (8.8–9 = T 57), tells a story set at the City Dionysia of 468. Sophocles, he says, was putting on his first production; there were quarrels and taking of sides among the spectators; the presiding magistrate, instead of selecting judges for the contest by lot as was usual, invited the ten generals (one of whom was Cimon) to act as judges, and they awarded the first prize to Sophocles. Plutarch implies, and the ancient *Life of Aeschylus* (T 1.28) explicitly states, that Aeschylus was one of the defeated competitors. There is independent evidence that Sophocles won his first victory in 468,[13] but the participation of Aeschylus in that contest may be a later "improvement" of the story, as may the claim that this was Sophocles' first production:[14] certainly Plutarch does not inspire our confidence here when he ascribes Aeschylus' final departure from Athens (which did not occur till a decade later) to pique at this defeat!

At any rate, in the following year, 467 (T 58), Aeschylus won first prize with *Laius*, *Oedipus*, *Seven against Thebes* and *The Sphinx*, defeating two sons of famous fathers, Aristias son of Pratinas (who competed with his father's plays, Pratinas having presumably died not long before)

[13] That of the *Parian Marble* (*FGrH* 239 A 56).

[14] On this see especially S. Scullion, *CQ* 52 (2002) 81–101, at pp. 87–90.

and Polyphrasmon son of Phrynichus; and in an uncertain year, probably also in the 460s, he won with *Egyptians*, *Suppliants*, *Danaids* and *Amymone*,[15] defeating Sophocles and Mesatus (T 70). One play has survived from each of these two productions.

In the late 460s substantial alterations seem to have been made both in the rules of the dramatic competition and in the physical environment in which they took place, including the introduction of a scene-building (*skēnē*) at the back of the acting area, of at least one special-effects device (the *ekkyklēma*, for making interior scenes visible to the audience) and possibly another (the *mēchanē*, for presenting flying entries),[16] and of a third speaking actor.[17] Ancient scholars, from Aristotle onwards, disputed whether Aeschylus or Sophocles was responsible for these

[15] On the questions of the dating and sequence of the Danaid plays, both of which are disputed, see Introduction to *Suppliants*.

[16] It remains disputed whether these devices existed in Aeschylus' time, but it is hard to deny him the *ekkyklēma* in the light of *Ag.* 1372ff (esp. 1379 "I stand where I struck"), and this also seems the best way to present the scene of Orestes and the sleeping Furies in *Eum.* 64ff (see the note on 64–93 in my edition of *Eumenides* [Cambridge, 1989]). The evidence for his use of the *mēchanē* is less compelling: *Prometheus Bound* is almost certainly spurious, *The Weighing of Souls* may well be (see note on that play), and in *Eum.* 397ff Athena could have entered on foot.

[17] Aristotle (*Poetics* 1449a15–17 = T 100) regarded Aeschylus as having been responsible for the introduction, much earlier, of a *second* speaking actor.

innovations.[18] In one sense at least, neither was. The innovations, which may have been associated with some remodelling of the theatre as a whole, called for public expenditure, and must therefore have been authorized by a decree of the Assembly, made on the recommendation of the Council and on the motion, probably, of some active politician—though no doubt advice was taken from the leading dramatists on how the money available for the purpose could best be spent. In the absence of any plays by Sophocles from this period, we cannot tell whether he or Aeschylus was more enthusiastic about these new theatrical resources. All we can say is that by 458 Aeschylus was employing them with as much expertise as if he had been handling them for the whole of his working life. He may have used them, or some of them, in up to three earlier productions: fragments of three lost plays—*Edonians*, *Priestesses* and the satyr-play *The Sacred Delegation*[19]—suggest the existence of a scene-building.

The *Oresteia* (comprising *Agamemnon*, *Choephoroi*, *Eumenides*—all of which survive—and the lost satyr-play *Proteus*), which won first prize at the City Dionysia in the

[18] Aeschylus' ancient biographer (T 1.53–59) credits him with the introduction of the third actor, the *skēnē*, and the *mēchanē*, among many other things; the third actor seems also to be ascribed to him by Themistius (T 101), but this may be an error (of the author or his copyists) since Themistius claims that this was the view of Aristotle who, on the contrary, says specifically that the third actor (and scene-painting) were introduced by Sophocles (*Poetics* 1449a18–19).

[19] The two last-mentioned plays may have been produced together; and either this production, or one of the others here discussed, may have been posthumous.

spring of 458 (T 65), appears to have been Aeschylus' last production in Athens. Not long afterwards he again travelled to Sicily. As he was never to return, legends later grew up about his having become estranged from his Athenian public, but no credence need be given to these. We do not know who invited him to Sicily (Hieron was now dead), nor how many cities he visited, nor what plays he produced, nor what plays he had prepared for production at Athens after his anticipated return; only that he died and was buried at Gela in 456/5 (T 1.35–45; 3). An epitaph is preserved which the ancient biographer of Aeschylus (T 1.40–45) ascribes to the Geloans, though another tradition[20] held it to be by Aeschylus himself. It may be translated thus:

> At Gela, rich in wheat, he died, and lies beneath this stone:
> Aeschylus the Athenian, son of Euphorion.
> His valour, tried and proved, the mead of Marathon can tell,
> The long-haired Persian also, who knows it all too well.

One is entitled to be sceptical about the authenticity of ancient poets' epitaphs (all the more so when they are said to have written them personally), but in this case there is cause to be sceptical about scepticism. It is hard to believe that anyone at a *later* date would have concocted an epitaph for Aeschylus that made not even the most distant al-

[20] Athenaeus 14.627c; Pausanias 1.14.5.

lusion to his art.[21] Aeschylus, to be sure, can hardly have himself composed an epitaph that specified the place of his death; but it will probably have been commissioned by the Geloans from a member of his family, and its wording will have been in accordance with what his family knew had meant most to him, commemorating him not as a poet, but as a loyal and courageous Athenian who had fought that Athens might still be free.

Scepticism is rather more in order about a number of other anecdotes, mostly undated, that figure in Aeschylus' ancient biography. Only one of these is worth recording, mainly because of its early attestation; it is referred to casually by Aristotle in his *Nicomachean Ethics* as if already well known:

> [The doer of an act] may not realize what he is doing; as people say they were "carried away while speaking", or "did not know it was a secret" (as in the case of Aeschylus and the Mysteries) (*Eth.Nic.* 1111a8–10 tr. Thomson = T 93a).

This implies that Aeschylus was at some time accused, formally or informally, of having divulged secrets, connected with the Mysteries of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis, that were supposed to be concealed from all except initiates of the cult. An ancient commentator on Aristotle

[21] In addition, the unusual use of the word ἄλσος (normally "grove" or "sacred precinct") to mean "level expanse" is common in poetry composed between 480 and 410 BC, especially in Aeschylus (who never uses the word in any other sense), and is nowhere found before or after that, unless in this epitaph; see *Museum Criticum* 30/31 (1995/6) 111–7.

(T 93b) specifies five plays (none of which has survived) in which Aeschylus "seems" to have done this, and quotes from Aristotle's contemporary Heracleides Ponticus a sensational story of how Aeschylus narrowly escaped being put to death on stage for revealing such secrets, took refuge at the altar of Dionysus, and was eventually put on trial and acquitted, "mainly because of what he had done in the battle of Marathon".

Eleusis was both Aeschylus' home town and the home of the Mysteries, and Aristophanes in *Frogs* exploits this connection to good effect: the chorus of the play is composed of initiates enjoying a blissful afterlife in a privileged region of Hades, and Aeschylus' prayer before his contest with Euripides is "Demeter who nurtured my mind, may I be worthy of thy Mysteries" (*Frogs* 886–7). Some of the imagery in the *Oresteia* has been thought, probably rightly, to derive from this cult,[22] though none of it is signalled as such (neither the Mysteries nor Eleusis nor even Demeter is mentioned anywhere in the trilogy) and none of it could reasonably be regarded as illicit divulgation, since no non-initiate could even be aware of its connotations. To judge by what Aristotle's commentator says about the five other plays, their sole connection with the Mysteries, so far as later scholars could discover, consisted in some more than passing reference to Demeter.

There is thus no reason to believe that Aeschylus was guilty of what he is said to have been accused of. It does not follow, however, that the story of the accusation is pure legend. It has been well said that "the adage that there is no

[22] See A. M. Bowie, *CQ* 43 (1993) 10–31, at pp. 24–26, with references to earlier literature.

smoke without fire is not applicable to the Athenian law courts".[23] There is good reason to believe that Aeschylus was a politically committed dramatist and a supporter successively of Themistocles, Ephialtes and Pericles;[24] in the tense atmosphere of, say, the middle and late 460s, when Ephialtes and Pericles were seeking to undermine the ascendancy of Cimon through prosecutions,[25] it is not inconceivable that Cimon or one of his associates tried to attack his rivals indirectly through a prosecution of a man in the public eye who was well known to be an associate of theirs, as twenty-five or thirty years later Pericles was attacked through prosecutions of friends of his who were well known to the public but were not active in politics (Pheidias, Anaxagoras, Aspasia).[26] If so, Aeschylus was acquitted; had he been convicted, the penalty would certainly have been death, as it was in later cases where similar charges were brought. It will not have taken long for the story to acquire the legendary embroidery found in later accounts.

Various ancient sources preserve sayings ascribed to Aeschylus, of varying degrees of credibility. The best attested is one that has no connection with his art:

> When Aeschylus was watching a boxing contest at the Isthmian Games, and the spectators shouted out

[23] K. J. Dover, *Aristophanes: Clouds* (Oxford, 1968) xx, and *Aristophanes: Frogs* (Oxford, 1993) 3.

[24] See my discussion in *Aeschylean Tragedy* (Bari, 1996) 391–421.

[25] See Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens* 23.2 and Plutarch, *Cimon* 14.3–5.

[26] Plutarch, *Pericles* 31–32.

> when one of the boxers was hit, he nudged Ion of Chios and said "Do you see what training does? The man who was struck is silent, and the spectators cry out!" (Plutarch, *Moralia* 79e = T 149a).

Ion was a versatile writer (of tragedy, among much else) of the fifth century who published a collection of reminiscences of famous people he had met; he was probably born in the late 480s and first visited Athens in the 460s.[27] Our story implies that they were visiting the Isthmian Games together, perhaps in 464 or 462,[28] which suggests that they had become close friends.

The other sayings attributed to Aeschylus all relate to his art. Some of them are commonplaces that might fit any poet, but two have a degree of individuality. One tells of a polite refusal by Aeschylus to compose a paean for the people of Delphi:

> He said that there already existed an excellent one composed by Tynnichus, and that to put one of his own beside it would be like comparing a modern cult-statue with an ancient one. The old images, crudely made as they were, were reckoned divine; the new ones, made with great artistry, were admired but did not give the same impression of divinity (Porphyry, *On Abstinence* 2.18 = T 114).

The other is the only substantive comment he is recorded as having made on his tragedies: that they were

[27] See M. L. West, *BICS* 32 (1985) 71–78, and K. J. Dover, *The Greeks and their Legacy* (Oxford, 1989) 1–12.

[28] So rightly F. Jacoby, *CQ* 41 (1947) 3–4.

"slices of fish taken from the great banquets of Homer" (Athenaeus 8.347d = T 112). Both these may perhaps likewise come from Ion of Chios.[29] A small point in favour of their authenticity is that they share a tone of good-humoured self-depreciation. We do not know whether Aeschylus ever actually wrote paeans or other free-standing lyric poems, but in the Hellenistic period there circulated under his name at least two elegiac epitaphs[30] and also a longer elegy in honour of those who died at Marathon (T 1.28–29; T 12).

The number of plays he composed is uncertain,[31] and some of his early works may not have survived to reach the Library of Alexandria. We know of 80 titles of plays attributed to Aeschylus, and these are listed below, together with two more (Κύκνος and Τέννης) which are not directly attested but have been more or less plausibly inferred from other evidence. An asterisk against a title indicates that in my opinion it should not be counted in determining the number of plays in the Aeschylean corpus, either because it probably denotes the same play as

[29] M. L. West, *BICS* 32 (1985) 78 n.25, suggested Ion as source for the "slices from Homer" remark.

[30] One of these, on some Thessalian war-dead, survives in the *Palatine Anthology* (7.255); a line from another (Aesch. fr. eleg. 2 West), referring to the Etruscans, is quoted by Theophrastus, *Enquiry into Plants* 9.15.

[31] The main ancient biography says 70 (T 1.50), the Suda 90 (T 2.7); it is possible that the former figure (ο) is a corruption of the latter (ϙ). A list of plays found in some of the medieval manuscripts (T 78) contains a total of 73 titles, but several well-attested plays are missing from it.

another title in the list,[32] or because there probably was no play of that name known to scholars of the Hellenistic age as the work of Aeschylus. Plays for which there is explicit evidence that they were satyr-dramas, or were the fourth of a four-play production, or whose satyric nature is demonstrated beyond doubt by their surviving fragments, are listed as "satyric"; plays for which there is no such evidence, but which are inferred to be satyric from their content or language, are listed as "probably satyric", and further information is given in the introductory notes to these plays in the *Fragments* volume.

Ἀγαμέμνων
Ἀθάμας
Αἰγύπτιοι[33]
Αἰτναῖαι[34]
* Ἀλκμήνη[35]
Ἀμυμώνη (satyric)

[32] Where such identification is a possibility rather than a probability, the asterisk is bracketed.

[33] There are no surviving fragments long enough to include in this edition.

[34] The medieval catalogue lists two plays of this name, labelling them "genuine" (*γνήσιαι*) and "spurious" (*νόθοι*); no author quoting a fragment uses either epithet, and probably the epithets refer to two versions of what was basically the same play, perhaps one version produced in Sicily and another at Athens.

[35] This title is mentioned only once, by Hesychius (*a*6654) quoting a one-word fragment from Αἰσχύλος Ἰσθμιασταῖς καὶ Ἀλκμήνῃ: many have thought that the name of another dramatist (Euripides?) has fallen out after *καὶ*.

Ἀργεῖαι[36]
Ἀργὼ ἢ Κωπασταί[37] (probably satyric)
Ἀταλάντη[38]
(*)Βάκχαι[39]
Βασσαρίδες[40]
Γλαῦκος Πόντιος (probably satyric)
Γλαῦκος Ποτνιεύς
Δαναΐδες
Δικτυουλκοί (satyric)
Ἐλευσίνιοι
Ἐπίγονοι
Ἕπτα ἐπὶ Θήβας
Εὐμενίδες
Ἡδωνοί
Ἡλιάδες
Ἡρακλεῖδαι
Θαλαμοποιοί (probably satyric)
Θεωροὶ ἢ Ἰσθμιασταί (satyric)
Θρῇσσαι
Ἱέρειαι
Ἱκετίδες

[36] Our sources are divided about equally between Ἀργεῖαι and Ἀργεῖοι as the title of this play; see introductory note to *Women of Argos.*

[37] Κωπαστής or Κωπευστής in the medieval catalogue (the only source to give this alternative title); see introductory note to *The Argo.*

[38] There are no surviving fragments.

[39] This title is cited only twice, and may be another name for Βασσαρίδες, Ξάντριαι or Πενθεύς.

[40] Cited in most sources as Βασσάραι; but see introductory note to *Bassarids.*

Ἰξίων (possibly satyric)
Ἰφιγένεια
Κάβειροι
Καλλιστώ[41]
Κᾶρες ἢ Εὐρώπη[42]
Κερκυών (satyric)
Κήρυκες (satyric)
Κίρκη (satyric)
Κρῆσσαι
*Κύκνος[43]
Λάιος[41]
Λέων (satyric)
Λήμνιαι[44]
Λυκοῦργος (satyric)
Μέμνων
Μυρμιδόνες
Μυσοί
Νεανίσκοι

[41] There are no surviving fragments long enough to include in this edition.

[42] The authenticity of this play has recently been disputed; see M. L. West, *CQ* 50 (2000) 347–350.

[43] Aristophanes, *Frogs* 963 is *prima facie* evidence that Cycnus (a son of Poseidon who came to the Trojans' aid early in the Trojan War, and was slain by Achilles) was a character in a lost play of Aeschylus, but there is no other reference to such a play, and it is possible that Cycnus may merely have been the subject of a long retrospective choral ode in some other play about the war.

[44] The medieval catalogue lists this play as Λήμνιοι, but Herodian (2nd century AD), who quotes the two single-word fragments which are all that survive, each time gives the play's title in the feminine form.

Νεμέα (possibly satyric)[45]
Νηρεΐδες
Νιόβη
Ξάντριαι
Οἰδίπους.[46]
Ὅπλων κρίσις
Ὀστολόγοι
Παλαμήδης
Πενθεύς
Περραιβίδες
Πέρσαι
Πηνελόπη
Πολυδέκτης[45]
Προμηθεὺς Δεσμώτης[47]
Προμηθεὺς Λυόμενος[47]
*Προμηθεὺς Πυρκαεύς[48]
Προμηθεὺς Πυρφόρος (satyric)
Προπομποί[49]
Πρωτεύς (satyric)

[45] There are no surviving fragments.

[46] There are no surviving fragments securely ascribable to this play.

[47] The authenticity of this play is disputed; see Introduction to *Prometheus Bound*.

[48] This title is probably no more than a variant form of Προμ. Πυρφόρος: see A. L. Brown, *BICS* 37 (1990) 50–56.

[49] There are no surviving fragments long enough to include in this edition.

Σαλαμίνιαι[50]
Σεμέλη ἢ Ὑδροφόροι
Σίσυφος Δραπέτης (probably satyric)
Σίσυφος Πετροκυλιστής (satyric)
Σφίγξ (satyric)
Τέννης[51]
Τήλεφος
Τοξοτίδες
Τροφοί (probably satyric)[52]
Ὑψιπύλη[52]
Φιλοκτήτης
Φινεύς
Φορκίδες
Φρύγες ἢ Ἕκτορος λύτρα
*Φρύγιοι[53]

[50] The medieval catalogue gives the title as Σαλαμίνιοι; but in the six citations of the play by ancient authors the title appears in forms which, though often corrupt, clearly all go back to an original Σαλαμίνιαι. Compare Ἀργεῖαι and Λήμνιαι above.

[51] No source directly attests the existence of an Aeschylean play about Tennes, but fr. 451o has been plausibly ascribed to such a play (see introductory note to *Possibly Aeschylean Papyrus Fragments* in vol. iii).

[52] There are no surviving fragments long enough to include in this edition.

[53] This title, found only in the medieval catalogue (there are no surviving fragments ascribed to a play so named), is almost certainly either a corruption of Φρύγιαι (cf. Ἀργεῖαι, Λήμνιαι, Σαλαμίνιαι above) or an alternative form of Φρύγες mistaken for the title of a separate play.

80 Ψυχαγωγοί
Ψυχοστασία[54]
Ὠρείθυια

The Aeschylean corpus as known to us thus comprises 77 or 78 plays, of which between 17 and 19 (almost exactly the proportion we should expect, given the structure of the City Dionysia programme) were, or may well have been, satyr-plays. The Suda's figure of 90 for Aeschylus' total output, if not a scribal error, may derive from the festival records and include plays that did not survive into the Hellenistic period.

It was regular in the fifth century for each dramatist competing for the tragic prize at the City Dionysia to produce four plays, normally three tragedies followed by a satyr-drama, and Aeschylus and his contemporaries seem often to have composed for this purpose connected "tetralogies" consisting of three tragedies presenting successive episodes of a single story and a satyr-drama based on another part of the same or a very closely related myth.[55] Four such tetralogies are definitely attested:

1. Λάιος, Οἰδίπους, Ἑπτα ἐπὶ Θήβας, Σφίγξ (T 58)
2. Ἀγαμέμνων, Χοηφόροι, Εὐμενίδες, Πρωτεύς, collectively called the *Oresteia* (T 63, 65a, 65c)

[54] The authenticity of this play has recently been disputed; see M. L. West, *CQ* 50 (2000) 345–7.

[55] The story of the satyr-drama need not be mythologically subsequent to those of the three tragedies; it may come within their time-frame (e.g. Σφίγξ), or before it (e.g. Κίρκη), or may even present an alternative and incompatible version of the myth (e.g. Λυκοῦργος).

3. Ἠδωνοί, Βασσαρίδες, Νεανίσκοι, Λυκοῦργος, collectively called the *Lycurgeia* (T 68)
4. Αἰγύπτιοι, Ἱκετίδες,[56] Δαναΐδες, Ἀμυμώνη (T 70)

Modern scholars have identified, with greater or lesser confidence, several other connected tetralogies (or trilogies, since in some cases a satyr-play is hard to identify).[57] The groupings that seem to me likely are the following; for further discussion reference should be made to the introductory notes to the relevant plays in the *Fragments* volume.

5. (based on the *Iliad*) Μυρμιδόνες, Νηρεΐδες, Φρύγες, Θαλαμοποιοί
6. (based on the *Odyssey*) Ψυχαγωγοί, Πηνελόπη, Ὀστολόγοι, Κίρκη
7. (based on the cyclic epic *Aethiopis*) Κᾶρες, Μέμνων, Ψυχοστασία (satyr-play unknown)[58]
8. (Ajax and Teucer) Ὅπλων κρίσις, Θρῇσσαι, Σαλαμίνιαι (satyr-play unknown)

[56] The order of the first two plays is disputed; see Introduction to *Suppliants*.

[57] For comprehensive discussions, see T. R. Gantz, *CJ* 74 (1979) 289–304 and *AJP* 101 (1980), and my *Aeschylean Tragedy* (1996) 53–70. All proposals made up to 1985 are tabulated in *TrGF* iii 111–9.

[58] This trilogy may have been put together by Aeschylus' son Euphorion after Aeschylus' death; see M. L. West, *CQ* 50 (2000) 338–351.

9. (Dionysus and the Thebans) Σεμέλη, Ξάντριαι, Πενθεύς, Τροφοί[59]
10. (Adrastus) Ἐλευσίνιοι, Ἀργεῖαι,[60] Ἐπίγονοι, Νεμέα
11. (Argonauts) Λήμνιαι, Ὑψιπύλη, Κάβειροι, Ἀργώ

In three further cases we find two tragedies that seem to form a clear pair but no third play suggests itself to accompany them: Μυσοί and Τήλεφος; Φορκίδες and Πολυδέκτης (order uncertain), with the satyr-play Δικτυουλκοί; and the sequence of Προμηθεὺς Δεσμώτης and Προμηθεὺς Λυόμενος, though these plays are probably not by Aeschylus and may have been produced as late as 431.[61]

Finally, the four plays Φινεύς, Πέρσαι, Γλαῦκος Ποτνιεύς, and Προμηθεὺς Πυρφόρος, with which Aeschylus won first prize in 472, are *prima facie* unconnected; it is, however, argued in this edition[62] that the first and third plays of this suite may well both have contained prophetic references to the Persian War, the subject of the second play, and that the fourth may also have foreshadowed these recent events.

Aeschylus had two sons, Euphorion and Euaeon, both of whom themselves became tragic poets (T 2.3);

[59] It is possible that Τοξοτίδες should be included in this group in place of one of the first three plays; see introductory notes to *Wool-Carders* and *Archeresses*.

[60] The order of the first two plays is uncertain.

[61] See introduction to *Prometheus Bound*.

[62] And more fully in a forthcoming article in *Dioniso* n.s. 7 (2008).

Euphorion is reported to have won four first prizes with previously unperformed plays by his father (T 71), and since it is hardly a plausible supposition that Aeschylus had composed sixteen new plays in the last three years of his life, it was not unreasonable for West to suspect[63] that on some at least of these occasions Euphorion was actually producing his own work under his father's name, and that *Prometheus Bound* and *Unbound* may be among these, one is tempted to say, ghost-written productions. The family's professional tradition was thereafter continued by Philocles, the son of Aeschylus' sister, and his descendants,[64] the last and most distinguished of whom, Philocles' great-grandson Astydamas II, who was active from the 370s to the 330s,[65] was given the signal honour of having a bronze statue of him erected in the theatre during his lifetime.[66]

[63] *Studies* 67–72; *CQ* 50 (2000) 338–351.

[64] Philocles' son was Morsimus, whose son was Astydamas I, whose sons were Philocles II and Astydamas II; the genealogy is given in schol. Aristophanes, *Birds* 281.

[65] *IG* ii^2 2325.44 (which shows that he won between 7 and 9 victories at the City Dionysia), 2318.314, 2320.3–6. The Suda (*α*4264) says that his father, Astydamas I, won fifteen first prizes in all and wrote 240 plays; very likely this statement has been misplaced by the compiler and really belongs to the son.

[66] Diogenes Laertius 2.43; Suda *σ*161. Sixty years later (278/7) another Astydamas (III), probably a grandson, went to Delphi on a delegation from the Athenian Artists of Dionysus (his companion being an actor named Neoptolemus, presumably grandson of the famous fourth-century actor of that name) and secured from the Amphictiony a decree confirming certain privileges enjoyed by the guild (*IG* ii^2 1132).

After Aeschylus' death a state decree was passed permitting anyone who wished to produce his plays at the major dramatic festivals in competition with the works of living authors,[67] and he may also, by the late fifth century, have become a school text,[68] Before the fourth century was far advanced, however, Aeschylus had largely lost his popularity both in the theatre and with readers,[69] though he was still regarded as a classic, and when in the 330s an official text of the major Athenian tragic poets was deposited in the state archives on the proposal of Lycurgus,[70] Aeschylus was included along with Sophocles and Euripides.

In Egypt, towards the end of the second century AD, it was still possible for those who wished to secure copies of

[67] T 1.48–49; T 72–77.

[68] In Plato's discussion in the *Republic* (376c–398b) of the use and abuse of poetry in education, Aeschylus is the only individual poet other than Homer who is named or quoted; he can hardly have entered the school curriculum for the first time in the early fourth century, when he had gone almost completely out of fashion, so he is likely to have done so already in the fifth. On the reception of Aeschylus in the two generations after his death see B. Zimmermann, *Dioniso* 4 (2005) 6–13.

[69] Aristotle's *Poetics* naturally mentions Aeschylus in its potted history of the tragic genre (1449a15–18) but otherwise almost totally ignores him; *Prometheus* and *Phorcides* are mentioned (1456a2–3) as examples of a particular species of tragedy (the word describing the species is hopelessly corrupt—but it is the fourth of four species listed), and a little later (1456a17) he is implicitly praised, for the only time in the work, for not trying to include too much material in *Niobe* and so impair the unity of its plot.

[70] [Plutarch], *Lives of the Ten Orators* 841f.

many, perhaps even all, of the plays of Aeschylus, but—at least in a smallish town like Oxyrhynchus—there may not have been many who wished to. Almost all of our Aeschylean papyri are of this period; almost all of these, outside the seven plays that survive complete, appear to come from one man's library; and most of them were written by just two scribes. They cover, however, at least fourteen identifiable plays,[71] and probably include, unrecognized or at least not securely ascribable, parts of a good many more. Two centuries later there can have been few such collections in existence anywhere, and when the study of pagan Greek poetry revived in the time of Photius (9th century) the only plays of Aeschylus still extant were the seven that survive today.

The Byzantine schools soon narrowed this selection further to the so-called Byzantine triad of *Prometheus Bound, Seven against Thebes* and *Persians*, and as a result only one medieval manuscript, the tenth-century M (Laurentianus XXXII 9), contains, or rather once contained, all the seven plays (it has lost the pages containing the greater part of *Agamemnon* and the beginning of *Libation-Bearers*). The only other manuscripts containing anything beyond the triad are V (Venetus Marcianus gr. 468; late 13th century), which contains the first 348 lines of *Agamemnon*, and a group (G F E Tr) reflecting the editorial work of the fourteenth-century scholar Demetrius Triclinius (Tr, indeed, was written by him) and containing

[71] The corresponding figure for Sophocles—a more prolific, and in later centuries a more popular, dramatist—is no more than eleven.

the whole of *Agamemnon* and, but for two gaps,[72] *Eumenides*. For *Suppliants* and *Libation-Bearers* M is our sole authority except for occasional ancient quotations.

The textual tradition of the triad is much more complex;[73] the manuscripts, of which there are over a hundred in all (all of them, except M, dating from after the re-establishment of the Greek empire at Constantinople in 1261), can be roughly grouped into about ten families, but readings frequently migrate across the boundaries of these families, nor can the relationships between them be stated in any simple way. The scholia,[74] particularly those in M, often preserve good readings not found in the text of any manuscript, especially but not exclusively in the plays outside the triad.

The first printed text of Aeschylus, edited by Franciscus Asulanus, was published by Aldus Manutius (Asulanus' son-in-law) at Venice in 1518. It was based on a copy of M, and so included only some 400 lines of *Agamemnon*, presenting them together with *Libation-Bearers* as a single play. Francesco Robortello (Venice, 1552) was the first editor to realize that these were two

[72] In G F Tr, that is; in E two further sections are missing, though it still contains over four-fifths of the play.

[73] On the textual tradition of Aeschylus see above all the introduction to M. L. West's Teubner edition (Stuttgart, 1990), pp. iii–xxiv.

[74] The scholia to *Seven against Thebes*, *Suppliants* and the *Oresteia* have been edited by O. L. Smith (Leipzig, 1976–82), and the older scholia to *Prometheus Bound* by C. J. Herington (Leiden, 1972); for *Persians* the most recent edition (of the older scholia) is still that of O. Dähnhardt (Leipzig, 1894).

separate plays, and Petrus Victorius (Pietro Vettori) (Geneva, 1557), who had access to F and Tr, was the first who was able to print the whole of *Agamemnon*.

In accordance with the general practice of the Loeb series, this edition does not have a full critical apparatus, but a textual note is provided whenever the text is in serious doubt and whenever (apart from orthographic detail) the text I print has no, or very weak, support in the manuscript tradition. My reports of the manuscript evidence, especially in the triad, are given in a simplified form (see Sigla) and are based on published reports.

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SIGLA

This table refers only to the seven preserved plays, not the fragments, where (except in the case of papyrus fragments) sigla normally refer to mss. of the text in which a fragment is quoted.

Π	One of the following papyri: Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 2179 + 2163 fr. 10 + new fragment (see *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* xx [1952] 167) (*Seven* 155–164) Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 2334 (*Seven* 498–503, 529–552) Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 2333 (*Seven* 621–638, 644–656) Vienna Papyrus G 40458 (*Suppliants* 586–590) Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 3838 (*Prometheus Bound* 122–134) Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 2178 (*Agamemnon* 7–17, 20–30) *All these belong to the second century* AD, *except that Oxyrhynchus 3838 may be from the early third century.*
M	Laurentianus xxxii 9 (10th c.) (lacks *Ag.* 311–1066, 1160–end)
M^s	the contemporary reviser of M who wrote its scholia

In Persians, Seven against Thebes *and* Prometheus Bound

I	Athous Moni Iviron 209 (13th-14th c.)
A	Ambrosianus gr. C 222 inf. (c.1270) (lacks *Seven* 1–444 and *Prom.*)
B	Laurentianus xxxi 3 + lxxxvi 3 (1287) (lacks *Prom.* 203–238)
D	Ambrosianus gr. G 56 (early 14th c.)
H	Heidelbergensis Palatinus gr. 18 (c.1270) (lacks *Pers.* 807–882, 1045-end, *Seven* 565–614, *Prom.* 1–267)
N	Matritensis gr. 4677 (c.1290) (*Pers.* 747–end, *Seven* 1–488, *Prom.* 848–end are added by a later hand)
O	Leidensis Vossianus gr. Q4A (late 13th c.)
V	Venetus Marcianus gr. 468 (c.1270)
W	Vaticanus gr. 1332 (c.1290) (lacks *Pers.* 629–645, *Seven* 86–131, *Prom.* 289–339)
Y	Leidensis Vossianus gr. Q6 (early 14th c.) (lacks *Prom.* 1–50)
b	any one or more of A B D H N O V W Y[1]
K	Laurentianus conv. soppr. 11 (c.1335)

[1] Where the siglum *b* appears only once in an apparatus entry, it normally implies that all these nine mss. (or all of them which are available for that line) agree, or virtually agree, in presenting the reading in question; when this is not so, the siglum *b′* is used. In the use of *b* and other sigla denoting one or more mss. of a specified category (*k, x, m*) no distinction is made between readings found in the text, as marginal variants, as corrections by a second hand, etc.

L Laurentianus xxxii 2 (c.1310)
Q Parisinus gr. 2884 (1301)

k any one or more of K L Q[2]

x one or more manuscripts not listed above
z a reading conjectured or adopted at some point by Demetrius Triclinius (active c.1315–25), as evidenced by G F Tr (see below).

codd. a reading unanimously supported (apart from possible trivial variants) by M I *b k*

The following mss. are cited for scholia only:
P Parisinus gr. 2787 (early 14th c.)
Pd Parisinus gr. 2789 (15th c.)
Ya Vindobonensis phil. gr. 197 (1413)

In Suppliants *and the* Oresteia

M see above
V see above (has *Ag.* 1–348 only)
G Venetus Marcianus gr. 616 (c.1321) (has *Ag.* 1–45, 1095-end; *Eum.* 1-581, 645–777, 808–end)

[2] These mss., unlike those listed above, all contain a substantial number of emendations (some good, many poor) made by Byzantine scholars of the late thirteenth century. Where the siglum *k* appears only once in an apparatus entry, it normally implies that K L Q all agree, or virtually agree, in presenting the reading in question; when this is not so, the siglum *k'* is used.

F	Laurentianus xxxi 8 (c.1335–48) (has *Ag.* complete; *Eum.* as above)
E	Salmanticensis Bibl. Univ. 233 (c.1450–70) (has only *Eum.* 1–581, 645–680, 719–777, 808–982)
Tr	Neapolitanus II F 31 (c.1325), written by Triclinius (has *Ag.* complete; *Eum.* as in G F)
f	the common ancestor of GF(E)Tr
z	a reading conjectured or adopted by Triclinius, either in the text of Tr or as a variant or correction therein[3]
m	one or more 14th-16th century copies of M
codd.	the agreement of M V*f* (in *Ag.* 1–310) or V*f* (in *Ag.* 311–348) or M*f* (in *Ag.* 1067–1159)
Ald.	the Aldine *editio princeps* (ed. F. Asulanus, Venice, 1518)

Scholia and Testimonia

Σ^{M}	scholia in M (and often in I also, where I is available)
Σ^{I}	scholia in I but not in M
Σ^{V}, Σ^{HB}, etc.	scholia in the ms(s). named

[3] Such readings, or earlier attempts at emendation by Triclinius, may also appear in one or more of G F (E).

Σ^{Φ}	a form of the scholia found in most mss. of the *b* class[4]
Σ^{Th}	the scholia of Thomas Magister, found in K, Q, F and various other mss.
Σ^{Tr}	the scholia of Demetrius Triclinius, found in Tr
t	one or more other ancient or medieval authors citing the text[5]

[4] See O. L. Smith, *Scholia in Aeschylum* ii.2 (Leipzig, 1982) xvi–xx.

[5] Specific references are given for some testimonia which are particularly notable, usually for their antiquity, and for all those which preserve parts of the opening lines of *Libation-Bearers* where M is lost.

ABBREVIATIONS

AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AJP	*American Journal of Philology*
BCH	*Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*
BICS	*Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies, University of London*
CA	*Classical Antiquity*
CGITA	*Cahiers du Groupe Interdisciplinaire du Théâtre Antique*
CJ	*Classical Journal*
CP	*Classical Philology*
CQ	*Classical Quarterly*
CR	*Classical Review*
D-K	H. Diels (rev. W. Kranz), *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* (Berlin, 1951–2)
FGrH	F. Jacoby and others, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (Leiden, 1923–)
Gantz	T. R. Gantz, *Early Greek Myth* (Baltimore, 1993)
GRBS	*Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*
HSCP	*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*

K-A	R. Kassel and C. Austin, *Poetae Comici Graeci* (Berlin, 1983–)
KPS	R. Krumeich, N. Pechstein and B. Seidensticker, *Das griechische Satyrspiel* (Darmstadt, 1999)
LIMC	*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (Zürich, 1981–97)
MH	*Museum Helveticum*
PCPS	*Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*
PMG	D. L. Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci* (Oxford, 1962)
Podlecki	A. J. Podlecki, "Aischylos satyrikos", in G. W. M. Harrison ed. *Satyr Drama: Tragedy at Play* (Swansea, 2005) 1–19
Prag	A. J. N. W. Prag, *The Oresteia: Iconographic and Narrative Traditions* (Warminster, 1985)
QUCC	*Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica*
REG	*Revue des Études Grecques*
RhM	*Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*
SIFC	*Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica*
Sommerstein *AT*	A. H. Sommerstein, *Aeschylean Tragedy* (Bari, 1996)
TAPA	*Transactions of the American Philological Association*
Taplin, *Stagecraft*	O. P. Taplin, *The Stagecraft of Aeschylus* (Oxford, 1977)
trag. adesp.	*tragica adespota* (anonymous tragic fragments)

TrGF	*Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta:* vol. iii, *Aeschylus* ed. S.L. Radt (Göttingen, 1985). vol. iv, *Sophocles* ed. S. L. Radt (2nd ed., Göttingen, 1999)
West, *Studies*	M. L. West, *Studies in Aeschylus* (Stuttgart, 1990)
YCS	*Yale Classical Studies*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

The surviving plays of the Aeschylean corpus are abbreviated as *Pers.*, *Seven*, *Supp.*, *Prom.*, *Ag.*, *Cho.* and *Eum.*; the poet's name may be abbreviated as "Aesch."

PERSIANS

According to the ancient headnote (Hypothesis), *Persians* was produced in 472 BC, as the second play in a four-play production (see below) which won first prize; it is thus, if the currently accepted dating of *Suppliants* to the 460s is correct, the earliest surviving European drama. The *choregos* who financed the production was none other than Pericles, then about twenty-three years old. Pericles' father, Xanthippus, had played a notable role in the Persian war: he had been the Athenian naval commander, in succession to Themistocles, in 479, had led the Athenian contingent at the victorious battle of Mycale, and then, after his Peloponnesian allies had abandoned the campaign, had gone on to capture Sestos on the Hellespont, whence he brought home to Athens, for dedication in a sanctuary, the cables of the bridge of boats by which Xerxes' army had crossed the straits[1]—a bridge of which our play has a great deal to say.[2]

Persians was not the first tragedy to take its subject from recent events instead of from those of heroic times. Aeschylus' great predecessor, Phrynichus, had done the

[1] Herodotus 8.131.3; 9.90–106, 114, 120–1 (the dedication of the cables is the very last event in Herodotus' main narrative).

[2] *Persians* 65–73, 112–3, 130–1, 722–5, 745–750.

same thing at least twice. In 493 or 492 he had produced *The Capture of Miletus*, highlighting the calamity that had befallen this famous Ionian city, a calamity for which many Athenians felt Athens was partly to blame for having withdrawn its support from the Ionians rebelling against Persian rule; for this he was fined, and all further performance of the play prohibited.[3] Much later, probably in 476 and with Themistocles himself—the hero of Salamis, and the creator of the fleet that triumphed there—as his *choregos*,[4] Phrynichus had staged a production at least part of which was devoted to the Graeco-Persian war,[5] seen from the side of the Persians (and their non-Greek subject nations)

[3] Herodotus 6.21.2. Presumably the prohibition referred to possible performances at local deme festivals; it was to be many years before anyone thought of producing the same play a second time at the City Dionysia itself.

[4] It is known that Phrynichus won a victory, with Themistocles as *choregos*, in this year (Plutarch, *Themistocles* 5.5); there is no proof that this victory was gained with his Persian War plays, but the parallel with Pericles' sponsorship of Aeschylus' production, and the unlikelihood that a shrewd politician like Themistocles would miss the opportunity for self-promotion that such a production on such a subject would provide, raise a strong presumption that it was. Indeed, it is quite possible that Themistocles had *suggested* the subject to Phrynichus.

[5] Our sources, including the Hypothesis to *Persians*, mostly refer in this connection to Phrynichus' *Phoenician Women*, but the *Suda*'s list of his plays (ϕ762) also mentions another play for which it offers three alternative titles—*The Righteous Men, The Persians*, and *The Committee* (lit. "men sitting together"). Probably the title *The Phoenician Women*, being that of the best-known play in the production, was sometimes applied to the whole of it.

and presented less as a Greek triumph than as their enemies' catastrophe. The plays, especially *The Phoenician Women*, were long remembered for the beauty of their lyrics.[6]

It is likely that at the time when Aeschylus produced *Persians*, Phrynichus had recently died. The opening words of Aeschylus' play are a near-quotation from the opening of the corresponding play of Phrynichus' production; it is unlikely that Aeschylus would have chosen to pay such a compliment to a living rival, and there is no evidence of Phrynichus being alive at any later date. Aeschylus thus advertises that he is following in Phrynichus' footsteps, but we can be sure that his treatment of the theme was very different from that of his older contemporary.

In particular, whereas Phrynichus had spread the story over at least two (possibly three) plays,[7] Aeschylus concentrates it into one. In the play of Phrynichus' production (probably *The Righteous Men*)[8] whose opening line Aes-

[6] The old jurors in Aristophanes' *Wasps*, on their way to court, are said to sing μέλη ἀρχαιομελισιδωνοφρυνιχήρατα ("lovely old honeyed Sidonian [i.e. Phoenician] Phrynichus songs") (*Wasps* 219–220).

[7] That our sources tell us of only two relevant plays of his is of no significance: we only know the titles of ten plays of Phrynichus altogether, from a career that may have lasted nearly forty years.

[8] The Hypothesis says it was *The Phoenician Women*, but the scene it describes, with a eunuch "spreading ‹fleeces or textiles over› chairs for the assessors of the ruling power", is clearly one of preparation for a meeting of Persian councillors, and surely therefore must come from the play that was named after them; see H. Lloyd-Jones, *Greek Epic, Lyric and Tragedy* (Oxford, 1990) 233–4 [article originally published 1966].

chylus imitated, "the defeat of Xerxes"—this must mean Salamis, the only Greek victory over the Persians at which Xerxes was present in person—was already known about in the Persian capital and was mentioned in the prologue speech; it is plausible therefore to suppose that *The Phoenician Women* came first, and that in the course of that play the chorus learned of the disaster of Salamis and of their own widowhood. The depth of their grief, and the poignancy of its expression, can well be imagined: many tragic choruses mourn and lament, but no surviving tragic chorus laments a personal bereavement which its members have *themselves* experienced, or learned of, during the course of the play.[9] Perhaps in the following play, as Persia struggled to recover from Salamis (and with Xerxes now back home?), word may have arrived of the crowning catastrophe of Plataea.

Aeschylus ingeniously reshapes these elements into a new and much tauter package. He takes from Phrynichus' *second* play the chorus of Persian councillors, with a council meeting (140–5) as the first significant event, but like

[9] The Persian elders in Aeschylus' play learn of a disaster which must have cost the lives of some of their sons, but their grief remains always national, not personal. In Aeschylus' lost *Daughters of the Sun*, however, the chorus will have learned of the death of their brother Phaëthon, and in his *Danaids* the chorus almost certainly lost their father Danaus. In Euripides' *Children of Heracles* the chorus lose a sister when one of Heracles' daughters (often, but not in the play itself, called Macaria) offers herself as a sacrifice to secure victory for the Athenians over Eurystheus' army; but far from grieving over her death they urge Iolaus *not* to grieve, because the maiden has won herself eternal glory (618–629).

Phrynichus' *first* play, this one begins with the fate of Xerxes' expedition still entirely unknown, and the shattering news of Salamis[10] arrives in the course of the play. Few will then have expected to hear of Plataea too, but Aeschylus contrives to include it by having the ghost of Darius summoned up from below and making him deliver a precise prophecy of the coming defeat, even though he is represented as at first knowing nothing of what has happened at Salamis.[11] Then, and only then, a humiliated Xerxes returns home, apparently in rags—in the sharpest contrast to the elaborate, costly robes of his councillors, and those in which we have just seen his father clad;[12] and the feminine laments with which *The Phoenician Women* so abounded are put in the mouths of the male Xerxes and the male chorus—for, as Edith Hall has shown, the image of the Persian

10 All the more shattering because, up to that point, the Persians at home seem entirely unaware that the Greeks have a navy at all; we have heard of the Persian fleet (19, 39, 55, 76, 83), but the Greeks are thought of simply as spear-fighters (85, 148–9, 240), and the information about Athens which the Elders give the Queen (231–244) includes not a word about ships.

11 This is achieved by supposing that Darius, and apparently no one else (not even Xerxes, 744), knows of an oracle that predicted these events; he had assumed that it would be fulfilled in some distant future (740–1), but now, seeing that the first part of the prophecy has come true, he knows that the second part will soon come true also, "for oracles are not fulfilled by halves" (802).

12 There has earlier been a similar contrast between the robes of the Queen at her first, vehicle-borne entrance (150ff) and the simple garb in which she returns, "without my carriage and without my former luxury" (607–8).

male has been systematically feminized all through the play.[13]

Although, however, Aeschylus has thus concentrated the substance of Phrynichus' two (or three) plays into one, he may nevertheless have suffused his entire production with the glow of the great Greek victory over the barbarian. The production of 472 is the only one by Aeschylus[14] that is known to have consisted of four plays whose stories were, on the face of it, unrelated—indeed, they were not even placed in proper chronological order. The first play was *Phineus*, about an episode in the saga of the Argonauts. *Persians* followed; then the audience were taken back to the heroic age with *Glaucus of Potniae*—which might have made a vaguely appropriate sequel to *Phineus*, since Glaucus was killed (torn apart by his own horses) at the funeral games of Pelias whose death had been caused by the wiles of Medea after Jason's return from Colchis, if only *Persians* had not intervened—and then to a satyr-play about Prometheus (*Prometheus the Fire-Bearer* or *Fire-Kindler*). Such a miscellaneous collection would have been quite normal later in the century, but it is somewhat surprising to find it at this date—and it is far from surprising to find that repeated efforts have been made to find

[13] See E. M. Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian* (Oxford, 1989) 81–86 (cf. 126–9 and 209–210 on the effeminacy of the "barbarian" in later Greek tragedy).

[14] Though Aristias in 467 put on a production in which a *Perseus* was followed, with or without another play intervening, by a *Tantalus*—two heroes who had no mythical connection with each other at all except that both were sons of Zeus.

method behind the apparent madness, with little success.[15]

In a forthcoming article[16] I have suggested that the unifying feature of, at least, the three tragic plays in this production was nothing other than the Persian War itself. *Phineus* dealt with the rescue of Phineus and the destruction of his tormentors, the Harpies, by Zetes and Calaïs, sons of Boreas the North Wind and the Athenian princess Oreithyia; and it was to Boreas and Oreithyia that the Athenians successfully prayed (or so they said) before the northeasterly gale that wrecked many of the Persians' ships near Cape Sepias shortly before the simultaneous battles of Artemisium and Thermopylae.[17] Phineus was a prophet, and is reported elsewhere to have given, in that capacity, valuable information to the Argonauts;[18] he could very well have added a prediction of the blessing that Boreas would one day confer on the descendants of his father-in-law Erechtheus. As to *Glaucus of Potniae*—one of two lost Aeschylean plays about different mythical characters named Glaucus—there is an Aeschylean fragment (25a), cited by a scholiast on Pindar simply as from Aeschylus' *Glaucus*, in which someone speaks of having come to the river Himeras (or the city of Himera) in Sicily. This has,

15 The earlier attempts are discussed in Broadhead's edition (pp. lv–lx); see subsequently K. Deichgräber, *Die Persertetralogie des Aischylos* (Wiesbaden, 1974); E. Flintoff, *QUCC* 40 (1992) 67–80; and I. N. Perysinakis in G. M. Sifakis ed. *Kterismata . . . ston Io. S. Kambitsi* (Iraklion, 2000) 233–266.

16 To appear in *Dioniso* n.s. 7 (2008).

17 Herodotus 7.188–192.

18 Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* 2.311–425.

on the face of it, nothing to do with the plot either of *Glaucus of Potniae* (whose action, on and off stage, was set in Boeotia and Thessaly) or of Aeschylus' other play of the same name, *Glaucus the Sea-god* (whose settings were Boeotia, Euboea, and the straits between them); it does, however, have something to do with the Persian War, or rather with the simultaneous war between Carthage and the Sicilian Greeks, in which the latter won a major victory at Himera on, it was believed, the same day as the Greeks of the homeland did at Salamis.[19] I have suggested that fr. 25a comes from *Glaucus of Potniae*;[20] that its speaker was Poseidon, an appropriate god to appear in a play about the mistreatment and revenge of a team of horses;[21] and that he narrated a journey he had made to Himera[22] and prophesied that one day (in gratitude for good treatment he had received there?) he would give the Greeks of Sicily victory

[19] Herodotus 7.166.

[20] This play also contained another reference to the western Greek lands, very likely in the same speech: fr. 40a (33 Nauck), cited by Hesychius from *Glaucus of Potniae* (though arbitrarily ascribed to *Glaucus the Sea-god* by most scholars since Hermann), refers to a harbour in or near the Strait of Messina.

[21] And a god whom Xerxes is mentioned in *Persians* (750) as having particularly offended.

[22] Has he now come directly thence to Potniae to deal with the situation created by Glaucus' death, as Athena in *Eumenides* (397ff) comes directly from Sigeum in the Troad to Athens to answer the appeal of Orestes? And is it significant that Potniae was on the road from Plataea to Thebes, so that Athenian troops would have passed through the village when they marched on Thebes a few days after the battle of Plataea?

over their enemies.[23] Thus each of the first three plays of this production would narrate and/or foretell an important episode or episodes in the defeat of the great barbarian invasions of 480/79.[24] We do not know enough about the fourth play to be able to determine whether it too followed this pattern.

The production of a tragedy (indeed, if the argument of the last paragraph is right, of a whole trilogy) about events of a war that was still in progress—a play, moreover, which, while it did not mention any individual Athenian, alluded clearly enough to the exploits of Xanthippus (see above) and especially of Themistocles (353–363, not to mention the whole great narrative of his victory at Salamis)—has inevitably caused speculation as to whether it might have been designed to have some political impact, particularly in light of the earlier production by Phrynichus on the same subject for which Themistocles himself was probably *choregos* (see above). It is known that Themistocles was ostracized at some time in the late 470s, but it is not known precisely when; all the same, even if this occurred later than 472, it was probably not his enemies' first attempt to get rid of him.[25] Both Themistocles and (when he entered

[23] The Carthaginian commander, Hamilcar, had been killed by Syracusan *cavalry* while making a sacrifice to *Poseidon* (Diodorus Siculus 11.21.4–22.1).

[24] Salamis, Plataea and Himera are likewise mentioned together in Pindar's *First Pythian* (75–80), performed before Hieron at Aetna in 470.

[25] Before any particular individual could be ostracized (banished for ten years without loss of property) three hurdles had to be surmounted: (i) the Assembly had to vote that an ostracism be

politics) Pericles were opponents of the other outstanding political figure of this period, Cimon,[26] who had gained great prestige in the previous few years by the capture of Eion and Scyros and the restoration to Athens of the bones of Theseus;[27] so it is certainly not impossible that there was some political motivation behind the production of this particular play at this particular time.

There was certainly political motivation behind the re-staging that took place at Syracuse, probably a year or two later, at the invitation of its tyrant Hieron.[28] Hieron had taken part in the victory of Himera alongside his brother Gelon (who had been the ruler of Syracuse at that time), and it is reasonable to suppose—though we have no actual evidence—that Aeschylus was asked to, and did, produce *Glaucus of Potniae* in Sicily as well.

held; (ii) at a special Assembly held some two months later, a total of at least 6000 votes had to be cast; (iii) the person who had the most votes against him would then be ostracized. There may have been one or several attempts at ostracizing Themistocles which failed at the first or second hurdle, before the one that finally succeeded.

[26] Who appears to have been a patron of Sophocles (Plutarch, *Cimon* 8.7–9; *Life of Sophocles* 5).

[27] Thucydides 1.98.1–2; Plutarch, *Cimon* 8.5–7.

[28] Scholia to Aristophanes, *Frogs* 1028, citing Eratosthenes' *On Comedies*. On the possibility that *Women of Aetna* was also produced on this Sicilian visit, see General Introduction.

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ΠΕΡΣΑΙ

ΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ

ΧΟΡΟΣ ΓΕΡΟΝΤΩΝ ΠΕΡΣΩΝ
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ, *μήτηρ Ξέρξου*
ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ
ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ ΔΑΡΕΙΟΥ
ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

ΧΟΡΟΣ

Τάδε μὲν Περσῶν τῶν οἰχομένων
Ἑλλάδ' ἐς αἶαν πιστὰ καλεῖται,
καὶ τῶν ἀφνεῶν καὶ πολυχρύσων
ἑδράνων φύλακες,
κατὰ πρεσβείαν οὓς αὐτὸς ἄναξ

---

[1] A Greek term for the close counsellors of the Persian king; cf. Xenophon, *Anabasis* 1.5.15. The opening of the play closely echoes that of Phrynichus' earlier play on the same theme (Phrynichus fr. 8), but for *βεβηκότων* "who have gone" Aeschylus substitutes *οἰχομένων*, which carries a strong (though by the speakers unintended) suggestion that those who have departed are destined not to return.

PERSIANS

CHARACTERS OF THE PLAY

CHORUS *of Persian elders of the King's council*
QUEEN, *widow of Darius and mother of Xerxes*
MESSENGER
GHOST OF DARIUS, *the late King of Persia*
XERXES, *the present King of Persia*

Produced: 472 BC, as second play in the tetralogy *Phineus, Persians, Glaucus of Potniae, Prometheus the Fire-Bearer.*

Scene: Susa. Twelve chairs are set out for a meeting of the royal council. A mound (ignored until attention is drawn to it) represents the tomb of Darius. One side-passage is imagined as leading to the city and palace, the other towards the west and Greece.

Enter CHORUS *from the direction of the city.*

CHORUS

Of the Persians, who have departed
for the land of Greece, we are called the Trusted,[1]
the guardians of the wealthy palace rich in gold,
whom our lord himself, King Xerxes
son of Darius, chose by seniority

Ξέρξης βασιλεὺς Δαρειογενὴς
εἵλετο χώρας ἐφορεύειν·
ἀμφὶ δὲ νόστῳ τῷ βασιλείῳ
καὶ πολυάνδρου στρατιᾶς ἤδη
κακόμαντις ἄγαν ὀρσολοπεῖται
θυμὸς ἔσωθεν·
πᾶσα γὰρ ἰσχὺς Ἀσιατογενὴς
οἴχωκε, νέον δ' ἄνδρα βαΰζει
< >,
κοὔτε τις ἄγγελος οὔτε τις ἱππεὺς
ἄστυ τὸ Περσῶν ἀφικνεῖται·
οἵτε τὸ Σούσων ἠδ' Ἀγβατάνων
καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν Κίσσιον ἔρκος
προλιπόντες ἔβαν, οἱ μὲν ἐφ' ἵππων,
οἱ δ' ἐπὶ ναῶν, πεζοί τε βάδην
πολέμου στῖφος παρέχοντες·
οἷος Ἀμίστρης ἠδ' Ἀρταφρένης

6 after Δαρειογενὴς M I *b k'* insert Δαρείου υἱὸς (υἱὸς Δαρείου *k'*).

9 πολυάνδρου Wecklein: πολυχρύσου (-ους M) codd.

13–14 lacuna posited by Mekler: perh. e.g. ‹λειφθεῖσα γυνὴ πάντα κατ' οἶκον›.

16 Ἀγβατάνων Brunck (so M at 535, 961): Ἐκβατάνων codd.

17 Κίσσιον *b*: κίσσινον M I *b k*.

to supervise the country.
But by now the spirit within me,
all too ready to foresee evil, is troubled
about the return of the King
and of his vast army of men;
for all the strength of the Asiatic race
has departed, and ‹in every house
the woman left behind› howls for her young husband;[2]
and no messenger, no horseman,
has come to the Persian capital.
They left the walls of Susa and Agbatana[3]
and the ancient ramparts of Cissia[4]
and went, some on horseback,
some on board ship, and the marching infantry
providing the fighting masses.
Such were Amistres and Artaphrenes

2 For this tentative restoration cf. 63–64, 123–5, 135–9, 541–5, and see generally A. F. Garvie, *Lexis* 17 (1999) 26–28. If we do not posit a lacuna, we are forced to assume that the *νέος ἀνήρ* is Xerxes (cf. 782) and that it is "the strength of the Asiatic race" (i.e. the army) which is "howling" about him; but it makes no sense that the chorus should make confident assertions about the state of opinion in the army when the whole context is concerned with the apprehensions that are assailing them owing to their total lack of information about what the army is doing and how it is faring.

3 The capital of Media, about 300 km north of Susa; usually called Ecbatana by Herodotus and later Greek authors (modern Hamadan).

4 Aeschylus seems to take this as the name of a city (cf. 120); it was in fact the name of the region (today Khuzestan, or al-Ahwaz, in south-western Iran) of which Susa was the chief city.

καὶ Μεγαβάτης ἠδ' Ἀστάσπης,
ταγοὶ Περσῶν,
βασιλῆς βασιλέως ὕποχοι μεγάλου,
σοῦνται, στρατιᾶς πολλῆς ἔφοροι,
τοξοδάμαντές τ' ἠδ' ἱπποβάται,
φοβεροὶ μὲν ἰδεῖν, δεινοὶ δὲ μάχην
ψυχῆς εὐτλήμονι δόξῃ·
Ἀρτεμβάρης θ' ἱππιοχάρμης
καὶ Μασίστρης, ὅ τε τοξοδάμας
ἐσθλὸς Ἱμαῖος, Φαρανδάκης θ'
ἵππων τ' ἐλατὴρ Σοσθάνης·
ἄλλους δ' ὁ μέγας καὶ πολυθρέμμων
Νεῖλος ἔπεμψεν· Σουσισκάνης,
Πηγασταγὼν Αἰγυπτογενής,
ὅ τε τῆς ἱερᾶς Μέμφιδος ἄρχων
μέγας Ἀρσάμης, τάς τ' ὠγυγίους
Θήβας ἐφέπων Ἀριόμαρδος,
καὶ ἑλειοβάται ναῶν ἐρέται
δεινοὶ πλῆθός τ' ἀνάριθμοι·
ἁβροδιαίτων δ' ἕπεται Λυδῶν
ὄχλος, οἵτ' ἐπίπαν ἠπειρογενὲς
κατέχουσιν ἔθνος, τοὺς Μιτραγάθης

22 Μεγαβάτης *x*: Μεγαβάζης *k*: Μεταβάτης M I *b*.
28 εὐτλήμονι *k*, Thomas: ἐν τλήμονι M I *b k*.
43 Μιτρα- *k*: Μιτρο- *k*: Μητρα- or Μητρο- M I *b k*.

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[5] Here begins the first of three long catalogues of leaders of the army (the others are at 302–328 and 957–999). A substantial proportion of them are, certainly or probably, genuine Persian

and Megabates and Astaspes,[5]
marshals of the Persians,
kings subordinate to the Great King,
who have sped away—overseers of a great army,
slayers with the bow or riders of the horse,
terrifying to behold and fearsome in battle
in the steadfast self-confidence of their hearts;
and Artembares the charioteer
and Masistres, and brave Himaeus
the archer, and Pharandaces,
and Sosthanes, driver of horses.
The great, nurturing stream
of Nile sent others: Susiscanes;
the Egyptian-born Pegastagon;
great Arsames, the ruler
of holy Memphis, and Ariomardus
who governs ancient Thebes;
and dwellers in the marshes,[6] rowing ships,
formidable and in numbers past counting.
Following them are a mass of Lydians
of luxurious lifestyle, who control every race
born on the mainland;[7] Mitragathes

names; most of the others would give a Greek ear the impression of being Persian or at least exotic. Aeschylus does not seem to have been interested in prosopographical accuracy, at least not to any significant extent; of the twelve principal commanders named by Herodotus (7.82, 88, 97) not one is mentioned in the play.

6 Of the Nile delta.

7 "The mainland" (ἤπειρος) here means (western) Asia Minor, which had once been controlled by the kingdom of Lydia and was now governed from that kingdom's former capital, Sardis, by a Persian satrap.

Ἀρκτεύς τ᾽ ἀγαθός, βασιλῆς διόποι,
χαὶ πολύχρυσοι Σάρδεις ἐπόχους
πολλοῖς ἅρμασιν ἐξορμῶσιν,
δίρρυμά τε καὶ τρίρρυμα τέλη,
φοβερὰν ὄψιν προσιδέσθαι·
στεῦνται δ᾽ ἱεροῦ Τμώλου πελάται
ζυγὸν ἀμφιβαλεῖν δούλιον Ἑλλάδι,
Μάρδων, Θάρυβις, λόγχης ἄκμονες,
καὶ ἀκοντισταὶ Μυσοί· Βαβυλὼν δ᾽
ἡ πολύχρυσος πάμμικτον ὄχλον
πέμπει σύρδην, ναῶν τ᾽ ἐπόχους
καὶ τοξουλκῷ λήματι πιστούς·
τὸ μαχαιροφόρον τ᾽ ἔθνος ἐκ πάσης
Ἀσίας ἕπεται
δειναῖς βασιλέως ὑπὸ πομπαῖς.
τοιόνδ᾽ ἄνθος Περσίδος αἴας
οἴχεται ἀνδρῶν,
οὓς πέρι πᾶσα χθὼν Ἀσιῆτις
θρέψασα πόθῳ στένεται μαλερῷ,
τοκέες τ᾽ ἄλοχοί θ᾽ ἡμερολεγδὸν
τείνοντα χρόνον τρομέονται.

στρ. α πεπέρακεν μὲν ὁ περσέπτολις ἤδη

45 χαὶ Blomfield: καὶ codd.

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[8] We are probably meant to assume that, as regularly in Homer (and as in Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 6.1.51), two horses are yoked to each pole, so that these are four- and six-horse chariots.

and brave Arcteus, kingly commanders,
and Sardis, rich in gold, urge them forth,
riding in many chariots,
squadrons with two poles and with three,[8]
a fearsome sight to behold;
and those who dwell near holy Tmolus[9] are eager
to impose the yoke of slavery on Greece,
Mardon and Tharybis, anvils of the spear,[10]
and the javelin-men of Mysia.[11] And Babylon,
rich in gold, sends forth a mixed multitude
in a long trailing column, men on board ships
and men trusted for their bravery as archers;
and the sabre-carrying host
from all Asia follows
at the awesome summons of the King.
Such is the flower of the men of Persia's land
that has departed,
for whom the whole land of Asia,
which reared them, sighs with a longing that burns,
and parents and wives count the days
and tremble as the time stretches out.

The city-sacking[12] army of the King

Greeks (who in any case had long abandoned the use of chariots in war) never yoked more than two horses to a chariot, any extra horses being controlled by traces (cf. *Agamemnon* 1640–1).

[9] A mountain near Sardis. [10] i.e. men who no more flinch before the spear than an anvil flinches before the hammer.

[11] An inland region of north-western Asia Minor, lying north of Sardis, around the later famous city of Pergamum.

[12] This word (περσέπτολις) is the first of many puns linking the name of Persia with πέρθειν, πορθεῖν "to sack, devastate".

βασίλειος στρατὸς εἰς ἀντίπορον γείτονα χώραν,
λινοδέσμῳ σχεδίᾳ πορθμὸν ἀμείψας
Ἀθαμαντίδος Ἕλλας,
πολύγομφον ὅδισμα ζυγὸν ἀμφιβαλὼν αὐχένι
πόντου.

ἀντ. α πολυάνδρου δ' Ἀσίας θούριος ἄρχων
ἐπὶ πᾶσαν χθόνα ποιμανόριον θεῖον ἐλαύνει
διχόθεν, πεζονόμοις ἔκ τε θαλάσσας
ὀχυροῖσι πεποιθὼς
στυφελοῖς ἐφέταις, χρυσογόνου γενεᾶς ἰσόθεος φώς.

στρ. β κυάνεον δ' ὄμμασι λεύσσων
φονίου δέργμα δράκοντος,
πολύχειρ καὶ πολυναύτας,
Σύριόν θ' ἅρμα διώκων,
ἐπάγει δουρικλυτοῖς ἀν-
δράσι τοξόδαμνον Ἄρη·

ἀντ. β δόκιμος δ' οὗτις ὑποστὰς

80 χρυσογόνου γρΣ^{M} *b*: χρυσονόμου M I *b k*.
82 φονίου *b k*: φοινίου M I *b k*.

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[13] i.e. the Hellespont.

[14] Alluding to the conception of Perseus when Zeus visited his mother Danaë in the form of a shower of gold; the Persians were believed to be descended from Perses, son of Perseus and Andromeda (Herodotus 7.61.3, 7.150.2).

has now passed over to the neighbour land on the other
side of the water,
crossing the strait of Helle, daughter of Athamas,[13]
by means of a boat-bridge tied together with flaxen
cables,
placing a roadway, fastened with many bolts, as a yoke
on the neck of the sea.

The bold ruler of populous Asia
drives his divine flock over the whole world
on both elements, trusting in commanders stout and
rugged,
those who govern the land force and those at sea—
a man equal to the gods, from the race begotten of
gold.[14]

With the dark glance
of a deadly serpent in his eyes,
with many hands and many ships,
driving a swift Syrian chariot,[15]
he leads a war-host that slays with the bow[16]
against men renowned for spear-fighting.

No one can be counted on to withstand

15 The extremely pessimistic response said to have been given initially to the Athenians when they consulted the Delphic oracle before Xerxes' invasion (Herodotus 7.140.2–3) spoke of the city being destroyed by πῦρ τε καὶ ὀξὺς Ἄρης Συριηγενὲς ἅρμα διώκων.

16 lit. "bow-slaying Ares".

μεγάλῳ ῥεύματι φωτῶν
ὀχυροῖς ἔρκεσιν εἴργειν
ἄμαχον κῦμα θαλάσσας.
ἀπρόσοιστος γὰρ ὁ Περσᾶν
στρατὸς ἀλκίφρων τε λαός.

θεόθεν γὰρ κατὰ Μοῖρ' ἐκράτησεν
στρ. γ τὸ παλαιόν, ἐπέσκηψε δὲ Πέρσαις
πολέμους πυργοδαΐκτους
διέπειν ἱππιοχάρμας
τε κλόνους πόλεών τ' ἀναστάσεις·

ἀντ. γ ἔμαθον δ' εὐρυπόροιο θαλάσσας
πολιαινομένας †πνεύματι λάβρῳ
ἐσορᾶν† πόντιον ἄλσος,
πίσυνοι λεπτοδόμοις πείσ-
μασι λαοπόροις τε μαχαναῖς.

93 ἐπῳδ. δολόμητιν δ' ἀπάταν θεοῦ
τίς ἀνὴρ θνατὸς ἀλύξει;
τίς ὁ κραιπνῷ ποδὶ πηδή-
ματος εὐπετέος ἀνάσσων;
φιλόφρων γὰρ ποτισαίνουσα τὸ πρῶτον παράγει

93–101 transposed by K.O. Müller to follow 113.

110–1 *πνεύματι λάβρῳ | ἐσορᾶν* codd.: *πνεύμασι λάβροι-|σι περᾶν* Enger.

97 *ποτισαίνουσα* Hermann, cf. Σ^{M} *προ<σ>σαίνει: σαίνουσα* codd.

this great flood of men
and be a sturdy barrier to ward off
the irresistible waves of the sea:
none dare come near the army
of the Persians and their valiant host.

For Destiny long ago prevailed
by divine decree, and imposed on the Persians
the fate of conducting wars
that destroy towered walls, clashes
of chariots in battle, and the uprooting of cities;

and they have learned to cross[17] the level expanse
of the sea, when its broad waters
are whitened by rough winds,
trusting in cables made of thin strands
and in devices for transporting an army.

But what mortal man can escape
the guileful deception of a god?
Who is so light of foot
that he has power to leap easily away?
For Ruin begins by fawning on a man in a friendly way[18]

[17] I translate the conjecture by Enger mentioned in the textual note; the transmitted reading, ἐσορᾶν "to look on", gives poor sense (one can *look on* the sea without ever leaving the shore) and involves a metrical anomaly (hiatus) not otherwise found in the metrically homogeneous section (entirely in ionics) 65–113.

[18] As Cerberus does to those arriving at the gates of Hades (Hesiod, *Theogony* 769–771).

βροτὸν εἰς ἀρκύσταθ' Ἄτα,
τόθεν οὐκ ἔστιν ὑπὲκ θανατὸν ἀλύξαντα φυγεῖν.

114
στρ. δ ταῦτά μοι μελαγχίτων
φρὴν ἀμύσσεται φόβῳ,
"ὀᾶ Περσικοῦ στρατεύματος",
τοῦδε μὴ πόλις πύθη-
ται, "κένανδρον μέγ' ἄστυ Σουσίδος".

ἀντ. δ καὶ τὸ Κισσίων πόλισμ'
ἀντίδουπον ᾄσεται,
"ὀᾶ", τοῦτ' ἔπος γυναικοπλη-
θὴς ὅμιλος ἀπύων,
βυσσίνοις δ' ἐν πέπλοις πέσῃ λακίς.

στρ. ε πᾶς γὰρ ἱππηλάτας
καὶ πεδοστιβὴς λεὼς
σμῆνος ὣς ἐκλέλοιπεν μελισσᾶν σὺν ὀρχάμῳ
στρατοῦ,
τὸν ἀμφίζευκτον ἐξαμείψας ἀμφοτέρας ἅλιον
πρῶνα κοινὸν αἴας.

ἀντ. ε λέκτρα δ' ἀνδρῶν πόθῳ

99 ἀρκύσταθ' Ἄτα West, cf. Σ^{M} which cites *Iliad* 9.505: ἀρκύστατα codd.

100 ὑπὲκ (ὑπεκ) $\gamma\rho$I, cf. Σ$^{\Phi}$ ὑπεκδραμόντα: ὑπὲρ codd.

121 ᾄσεται Burney, cf. Σ^{M} ἀντηχήσει: ἔσεται (ἔσσεται *b' k'*) codd.

and leads him astray into her net,
from which it is impossible for a mortal to escape and
flee.

For that reason my mind
is clothed in black and torn with fear:
"Woe for the Persian army!"—
I dread that our city may hear this cry—
"The great capital of Susiana is emptied of its
manhood!"—

and that the city of the Cissians
will sing in antiphon,
a vast throng of women
howling out that word "woe!",
and their linen gowns will be rent and torn.[19]

For all the horse-driving host
and the infantry too,
like a swarm of bees, have left the hive with the leader of
their army,
passing over the projecting spur[20] that belongs to both
continents
and yokes them together across the sea.

And beds are filled with tears

19 lit. "rending will fall on their linen gowns".

20 i.e. the bridge of boats, conceived as an artificial promontory which seems at one end like an extension of Asia, and at the other end like an extension of Europe.

πίμπλαται δακρύμασιν·
Περσίδες δ' ἀβροπενθεῖς ἑκάστα πόθῳ φιλάνορι
τὸν αἰχμάεντα θοῦρον εὐνατῆρ' ἀποπεμψαμένα
λείπεται μονόζυξ.

ἀλλ' ἄγε, Πέρσαι, τόδ' ἐνεζόμενοι
στέγος ἀρχαῖον
φροντίδα κεδνὴν καὶ βαθύβουλον
θώμεθα· χρεία δὲ προσήκει.
πῶς ἄρα πράσσει Ξέρξης βασιλεύς
Δαρειογενής;
πότερον τόξου ῥῦμα τὸ νικῶν,
ἢ δορυκράνου
λόγχης ἰσχὺς κεκράτηκεν;

135 ἀβροπενθεῖς *b*, cf. Σ^{M} ἀβρύνεσθαι: ἀκροπενθεῖς M I *b k*.

{146} τὸ πατρωνύμιον (πατρώνυμον *b' k'*) γένος ἀμέτερον (ἄμετρον or ἅμετρον *b'*) codd.: τὸ πατρ. del. Schütz, γένος ἀμέτερον del. Butler.

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21 lit. "yoked alone".

22 The building was probably left to the audience's imagination, assisted by the presence of chairs (which may have been covered with fleeces or the like for softer sitting, as in Phrynichus' play); see Sommerstein *AT* 35, 71.

23 The manuscripts here add four words, translatable as "our race named after [our? his?] father", which in context are meaningless. West, *Studies* 78–79, makes an ingenious attempt to save them (proposing to read Ξέρξης βασιλεὺς Δανάης τε γόνου τὸ

because the men are missed and longed for:
Persian women, grieving amid their luxury, every one,
loving and longing for her husband,
having sent on his way the bold warrior who was her
bedfellow,
is left behind, a partner unpartnered.[21]

But come, Persians, let us sit down
in this ancient building[22]
and take good thought and deep counsel—
for there is pressing need to do so.

[*They take their seats.*]

So how is King Xerxes,
son of Darius, faring?[23]
Is the bent bow victorious,
or has the power
of the spearhead's point conquered?

[*A carriage is seen approaching. Seated in it is the* QUEEN-MOTHER*, magnificently attired and attended. The* CHORUS *rise.*]

παρωνύμιον γένος ἡμέτερον "King Xerxes . . . and our race named after the son of Danaë [Perseus, cf. on 80]"); but the chorus's anxieties at present are not for the Persian nation as a whole but for the *army* (8–15, 60–64, 116–7, 126–139, 158). The line probably arose from a pair of glosses pointing out (i) that Δαρειογενής was a patronymic adjective and (ii) that the (already corrupted) text was unmetrical (ἄμετρον, cf. schol. *Seven* 885, schol. Ar. *Clouds* 92, schol. *Iliad* 2.520, 658).

ἀλλ᾽ ἥδε θεῶν ἴσον ὀφθαλμοῖς
φάος ὁρμᾶται μήτηρ βασιλέως,
βασίλεια δ᾽ ἐμή· προσπίτνω·
καὶ προσφθόγγοις δὲ χρεὼν αὐτὴν
πάντας μύθοισι προσαυδᾶν.

ὦ βαθυζώνων ἄνασσα Περσίδων ὑπερτάτη,
μῆτερ ἡ Ξέρξου γεραιά, χαῖρε, Δαρείου γύναι·
θεοῦ μὲν εὐνάτειρα Περσῶν, θεοῦ δὲ καὶ μήτηρ
ἔφυς,
εἴ τι μὴ δαίμων παλαιὸς νῦν μεθέστηκε στρατῷ.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ

ταῦτα δὴ λιποῦσ᾽ ἱκάνω χρυσεοστόλμους δόμους
καὶ τὸ Δαρείου τε κἀμὸν κοινὸν εὐνατήριον,
καί με καρδίαν ἀμύσσει φροντίς· εἰς δ᾽ ὑμᾶς ἐρῶ
μῦθον οὐδαμῶς ἐμαυτῆς <
> οὐκ ἀδείμαντος, φίλοι,
μὴ μέγας πλοῦτος κονίσας οὖδας ἀντρέψῃ ποδὶ

162 lacuna posited by Sommerstein.
162 οὐκ ΣΦ: οὖσ᾽ M I *b k*: οὐδ᾽ (οὐδὲ) *k*.

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[24] The supplement offered is not intended to do more than make reasonably coherent sense, on the assumption that only one line has been lost; in that case the "saying" may be the familiar piece of (Greek) folk wisdom expressed in 163–4 about the danger of excessive wealth. However, it is possible that the lacuna is longer than this.

But look, here comes the mother of the King,
my Queen, a light as brilliant as that which shines
in the eyes of the gods! I fall down before her—

[*The* CHORUS *prostrate themselves.*]

and it is right that we all address her
with words of greeting.

[*The* CHORUS *rise to their feet, and their leader addresses the* QUEEN *as she descends from her carriage.*]

All hail, my Queen, most exalted among the slim-waisted women of Persia, venerable mother of Xerxes and wife of Darius! You were the spouse of one who was a god to the Persians, and you are the mother of their god too, unless our old protecting power has now changed sides against our army.

QUEEN

It is for that reason that I have come here, leaving my gold-bedecked palace and the bedchamber I once shared with Darius, and that my heart is torn by anxiety. I will tell you a saying which is not my own creation <but has come down from our ancestors, and which causes me to be> very fearful, my friends,[24] that great wealth may make the dust rise from the ground by tripping up[25] the prosperity that

[25] lit. "overturning with its foot", a metaphor from wrestling; the dust rises because the tripped man has fallen heavily, probably on his back (cf. *Suppliants* 91, *Iliad* 23.727, Archilochus fr. 130.3–4 West). See D. Sansone, *Hermes* 107 (1979) 115–6; and for the idea that great (excessive) wealth is the enemy of true prosperity, cf. 824–6, *Ag.* 374–384, 471, 750–6.

ὄλβον, ὃν Δαρεῖος ἦρεν οὐκ ἄνευ θεῶν τινος.
ταῦτά μοι μέριμν᾽ ἄφραστός ἐστιν ἐν φρεσὶν διπλῆ,
μήτ᾽ ἀχρημάτοισι λάμπειν φῶς, ὅσον σθένος πάρα,
μήτε χρημάτων ἀνάνδρων πλῆθος ἐν τιμῇ σέβειν.
ἔστι γὰρ πλοῦτός γ᾽ ἀμεμφής, ἀμφὶ δ᾽ ὀφθαλμῷ φόβος·
ὄμμα γὰρ δόμων νομίζω δεσπότου παρουσίαν.
πρὸς τάδ᾽, ὡς οὕτως ἐχόντων τῶνδε, σύμβουλοι λόγου
τοῦδέ μοι γένεσθε, Πέρσαι, γηραλέα πιστώματα·
πάντα γὰρ τὰ κέδν᾽ ἐν ὑμῖν ἐστί μοι βουλεύματα.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

εὖ τόδ᾽ ἴσθι, γῆς ἄνασσα τῆσδε, μή σε δὶς φράσαι
μήτ᾽ ἔπος μήτ᾽ ἔργον, ὧν ἂν δύναμις ἡγεῖσθαι θέλῃ·
εὐμενεῖς γὰρ ὄντας ἡμᾶς τῶνδε συμβούλους καλεῖς.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ

πολλοῖς μὲν αἰεὶ νυκτέροις ὀνείρασι
ξύνειμ᾽, ἀφ᾽ οὗπερ παῖς ἐμὸς στείλας στρατὸν
Ἰαόνων γῆν οἴχεται πέρσαι θέλων·
ἀλλ᾽ οὔτί πω τοιόνδ᾽ ἐναργὲς εἰδόμην

165 διπλῆ moved to end of line by Porson: in codd. it follows *ταῦτά μοι*.
166, 167 transposed by Ludwig.
168 ὀφθαλμῷ $^{\lambda\Sigma V}$: ὀφθαλμοῖς (-μὸς *k′*) codd.

Darius, not without the aid of some god, had built up. For that reason there is in my mind an indescribable anxiety, a twofold one. For those who are without wealth, the light of success does not shine in proportion to their physical power; but neither do men revere and honour an accumulation of wealth without men to defend it.[26] Our wealth is ample,[27] but I fear for our very eye; for I consider the master, when present, to be the eye of his house. In view of this, considering the situation to be as I have said, be my counsellors about this matter, you venerable, trusty Persians; for all the good advice I receive comes from you.

CHORUS

Be well assured, Queen of this land, that you do not have to tell us twice to do any service in word or deed, so far as our ability permits:[28] we on whom you call for advice are your loyal friends.

QUEEN

Dreams of the night have been my frequent companions ever since my son led out his army and departed in order to lay waste the land of the Ionians;[29] but never yet have I had one that was so plain as during the night just past. I

[26] In other words, human and material resources are alike essential to the acquisition and maintenance of political power (cf. Sophocles, *Oedipus the King* 540–2), and a regime that is strong in only one of these respects may well be in danger.

[27] lit. "irreproachable". [28] lit. "of those in which ability is willing to lead (us)". [29] The Persians and many other peoples of western Asia applied the name "Ionian" (Old Persian *Yauna*, Hebrew *Yawan*, etc.) to all Greeks, doubtless because the first Greeks with whom they came into contact, those of Asia Minor, mostly belonged to the Ionian branch of the Greek people.

ὡς τῆς πάροιθεν εὐφρόνης· λέξω δέ σοι.
ἐδοξάτην μοι δύο γυναῖκ' εὐείμονε,
ἡ μὲν πέπλοισι Περσικοῖς ἠσκημένη,
ἡ δ' αὖτε Δωρικοῖσιν, εἰς ὄψιν μολεῖν,
μεγέθει τε τῶν νῦν ἐκπρεπεστάτα πολὺ
κάλλει τ' ἀμώμω, καὶ κασιγνήτα γένους
ταὐτοῦ· πάτραν δ' ἔναιον ἡ μὲν Ἑλλάδα
κλήρῳ λαχοῦσα γαῖαν, ἡ δὲ βάρβαρον.
τούτω στάσιν τιν', ὡς ἐγὼ 'δόκουν ὁρᾶν,
τεύχειν ἐν ἀλλήλαισι· παῖς δ' ἐμὸς μαθὼν
κατεῖχε κἀπράυνεν, ἅρμασιν δ' ὕπο
ζεύγνυσιν αὐτὼ καὶ λέπαδν' ὑπ' αὐχένων
τίθησι. χἡ μὲν τῇδ' ἐπυργοῦτο στολῇ
ἐν ἡνίαισί τ' εἶχεν εὔαρκτον στόμα·
ἡ δ' ἐσφάδαζε, καὶ χεροῖν ἔντη δίφρου
διασπαράσσει καὶ ξυναρπάζει βίᾳ
ἄνευ χαλινῶν, καὶ ζυγὸν θραύει μέσον.
πίπτει δ' ἐμὸς παῖς· καὶ πατὴρ παρίσταται
Δαρεῖος οἰκτίρων σφε· τὸν δ' ὅπως ὁρᾷ
Ξέρξης, πέπλους ῥήγνυσιν ἀμφὶ σώματι.
καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ νυκτὸς εἰσιδεῖν λέγω·
ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνέστην καὶ χεροῖν καλλιρρόου
ἔψαυσα πηγῆς, σὺν θυηπόλῳ χερὶ

194 ἔντη Scaliger: ἐν τῇ vel sim. codd.

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30 Aeschylus chooses to dress the woman representing Greece in "Doric" rather than "Ionic" style, not because he is imagining her as a Dorian Greek (e.g. a Spartan)—both styles were in use in

will tell you about it. There seemed to come into my sight two finely dressed women, one arrayed in Persian, the other in Doric robes,[30] outstandingly superior in stature to the women of real life, of flawless beauty, and sisters of the same stock: one, by the fall of the lot, was a native and inhabitant of the land of Greece, the other of the Orient.[31] I seemed to see these two raising some kind of strife between themselves; my son, perceiving this, tried to restrain and calm them, yoked them under his chariot, and passed the yoke-strap under their necks. One of them, thus arrayed, towered up proudly, and kept her jaw submissively in harness; but the other began to struggle, tore the harness from the chariot with her hands, dragged it violently along without bridle or bit, and smashed the yoke in half. My son fell out. His father Darius appeared, standing beside him and showing pity; but when Xerxes saw him, he tore the robes that clothed his body. That, I say, is what I saw in the night. When I had risen and washed my hands in a fair-flowing spring, I approached the altar with offerings

the Athens of his day—but because the Doric *chiton* (typically woollen, and pinned at the shoulders) symbolized Greek simplicity, in contrast to Persian luxury, more effectively than the Ionic (draped, and often of fine linen). Both styles are seen, for example, on an amphora of about 460 BC in Oxford (Ashmolean 280) showing a father, mother and sister bidding farewell to a departing warrior; see S. Lewis, *The Athenian Woman* (London, 2002) 41 fig. 1.22.

31 Frequently in this play Persians speak of themselves as *βάρβαροι*, properly a Greek term for those who did not speak the Greek language; I have translated this throughout as "orient(al)" or "Eastern(er)" (but in other plays, where the term is used by Greeks, I have retained the traditional rendering "barbarian").

βωμὸν προσέστην, ἀποτρόποισι δαίμοσιν
θέλουσα θῦσαι πελανόν, ὧν τέλη τάδε.
ὁρῶ δὲ φεύγοντ' αἰετὸν πρὸς ἐσχάραν
Φοίβου· φόβῳ δ' ἄφθογγος ἐστάθην, φίλοι·
μεθύστερον δὲ κίρκον εἰσορῶ δρόμῳ
πτεροῖς ἐφορμαίνοντα καὶ χηλαῖς κάρα
τίλλονθ'· ὁ δ' οὐδὲν ἄλλο γ' ἢ πτήξας δέμας
παρεῖχε. ταῦτ' ἐμοί τε δείματ' εἰσιδεῖν
ὑμῖν τ' ἀκούειν. εὖ γὰρ ἴστε, παῖς ἐμὸς
πράξας μὲν εὖ θαυμαστὸς ἂν γένοιτ' ἀνήρ·
κακῶς δὲ πράξας—οὐχ ὑπεύθυνος πόλει,
σωθεὶς δ' ὁμοίως τῆσδε κοιρανεῖ χθονός.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

οὔ σε βουλόμεσθα, μῆτερ, οὔτ' ἄγαν φοβεῖν λόγοις
οὔτε θαρσύνειν· θεοὺς δὲ προστροπαῖς ἱκνουμένη,
εἴ τι φλαῦρον εἶδες, αἰτοῦ τῶνδ' ἀποτροπὴν τελεῖν,

210 ἐμοί τε Blomfield: ἐμοὶ *b*: ἔμοιγε M I *b k*.
210 εἰσιδεῖν Hartung: ἐς ἰδεῖν vel sim. M *b* (ἐστ' ἐσιδεῖν *b'*): ἔστ' ἰδεῖν vel sim. I *b k*.
211 τ' *k*: δ' M I *b*.

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[32] The omen is easy to interpret (as is evident from the fact that Aeschylus leaves his audience to interpret it for themselves): that the mother of the greatest of human kings, full of anxiety about his fate, sees the "king of birds" (*Agamemnon* 114) fleeing from a bird of lesser status and submitting without resistance to degrading treatment, speaks for itself. Various explanations have been offered for why the eagle is represented as seeking the altar of Phoebus (Apollo) in particular; I suggest that the point is that

in my hand, wishing to pour a rich libation to the deities who avert evil, for whom such rites are appropriate. Then I saw an eagle fleeing for refuge to the altar of Phoebus[32]—and I was rooted speechless to the spot with terror, my friends. Next I saw a hawk swooping on him at full speed with beating wings, and tearing at his head with its talons[33]—and he simply cowered and submitted.[34] This was terrifying for me to behold, and must be terrifying for you to hear; for you know well that if my son were successful he would be a very much admired man, but were he to fail—well, he is not accountable to the community,[35] and if he comes home safe he remains ruler of this land.

CHORUS

Mother, we do not wish to say what would make you either unduly fearful or unduly optimistic. You should approach the gods with supplications and ask them, if there was anything sinister in what you saw, to ensure that it is averted,

the eagle is going *to the worst possible place*—for the eagle is the bird of Zeus, not Apollo, and the latter, though his best-known avian connection is with swans, also has one with hawks (*Iliad* 15.237; *Odyssey* 15.526; Aristophanes, *Birds* 516). Contrast Aesop, *Fable* 3 Perry, where the eagle seeks sanctuary from an enemy by nesting in the lap of Zeus. Has Xerxes too gone to the most unpropitious place he could have chosen?

33 No real hawk would or could do this (even if, *per impossibile*, it were to attack an eagle), but cf. *Odyssey* 15.526–7.

34 lit. "provided his body" (to be abused).

35 Unlike an Athenian general such as Miltiades, who not long after his victory at Marathon was nearly sentenced to death for failing to capture Paros, and eventually died in prison (Herodotus 6.136; Plato, *Gorgias* 516d-e; Plutarch, *Cimon* 4.4).

τὰ δ' ἀγάθ' ἐκτελῆ γενέσθαι σοί τε καὶ τέκνοις
σέθεν
καὶ πόλει φίλοις τε πᾶσι. δεύτερον δὲ χρὴ χοὰς
Γῇ τε καὶ φθιτοῖς χέασθαι· πρευμενῶς δ' αἰτοῦ
τάδε,
σὸν πόσιν Δαρεῖον, ὅνπερ φῃς ἰδεῖν κατ' εὐφρόνην,
ἐσθλά σοι πέμπειν τέκνῳ τε γῆς ἔνερθεν εἰς φάος,
τἄμπαλιν δὲ τῶνδε γαίᾳ κάτοχ' ἁμαυροῦσθαι
σκότῳ.
ταῦτα θυμόμαντις ὤν σοι πρευμενῶς παρῄνεσα,
εὖ δὲ πανταχῇ τελεῖν σοι τῶνδε κρίνομεν πέρι.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ

ἀλλὰ μὴν εὔνους γ' ὁ πρῶτος τῶνδ' ἐννυπνίων κριτὴς
παιδὶ καὶ δόμοις ἐμοῖσι τήνδ' ἐκύρωσας φάτιν.
ἐκτελοῖτο δὴ τὰ χρηστά· ταῦτα δ' ὡς ἐφίεσαι
πάντα θήσομεν θεοῖσι τοῖς τ' ἔνερθε γῆς φίλοις,
εὖτ' ἂν εἰς οἴκους μόλωμεν. κεῖνο δ' ἐκμαθεῖν θέλω,
ὦ φίλοι· ποῦ τὰς Ἀθήνας φασὶν ἱδρῦσθαι χθονός;

ΧΟΡΟΣ

τῆλε πρὸς δυσμαῖς ἄνακτος Ἡλίου φθινασμάτων.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ

ἀλλὰ μὴν ἵμειρ' ἐμὸς παῖς τήνδε θηρᾶσαι πόλιν;

218 τὰ δ' ἀγάθ' *b k*: τὰ δ' ἀγαθὰ δ' M *b*: τὰ δ' ἀγαθά γ' *k*: τἀγαθὰ δ' vel sim. I *b*.
228 δὴ *k* (?) *z*: δὲ M I *b k*.
230 κεῖνο *b*: κεῖνα M I *b k*.

but that what was good should be fulfilled for you, for your children, for the community, and for everyone that you care for. Secondly, you should pour drink-offerings to Earth and to the dead, and propitiate them with this prayer: that your husband Darius, whom you say you saw in the night, should send up to the light, from beneath the earth, blessings for you and your son, but that whatever is contrary to them be kept under the earth, ineffective, in the darkness. Using my intelligence[36] to prophesy for you, I give you this advice in all good will, and our interpretation of these signs is that things will turn out well for you in every way.

QUEEN

Yes, as the first interpreter of this dream you have shown yourself loyal to my son and my house in the very definite words you have spoken. May what was good indeed be fulfilled! We shall make all these arrangements as you advise, towards the gods and towards our friends beneath the earth, when we return home. But there is something I wish to learn, my friends. Where in the world do they say that Athens is situated?

CHORUS

Far away, near the place where the Lord Sun declines and sets.

QUEEN

And yet my son had a desire to conquer that city?

[36] sc. rather than any divine inspiration, or any training in seercraft.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

πᾶσα γὰρ γένοιτ' ἂν Ἑλλὰς βασιλέως ὑπήκοος.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ

235 ὧδέ τις πάρεστιν αὐτοῖς ἀνδροπλήθεια στρατοῦ;

ΧΟΡΟΣ

236 καὶ στρατὸς τοιοῦτος, ἔρξας πολλὰ δὴ Μήδους κακά.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ

239 πότερα γὰρ τοξουλκὸς αἰχμὴ διά χερῶν αὐτοῖς πρέπει;

ΧΟΡΟΣ

240 μηδαμῶς· ἔγχη σταδαῖα καὶ φεράσπιδες σαγαί.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ

237 καὶ τί πρὸς τούτοισιν ἄλλο; πλοῦτος ἐξαρκὴς δόμοις;

ΧΟΡΟΣ

238 ἀργύρου πηγή τις αὐτοῖς ἐστι, θησαυρὸς χθονός.

239–240 transposed by Trendelenburg to precede 237.
239 χερῶν *b* (χειρῶν ΣΦ): χερὸς vel sim. M I *b k*.

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37 This was also the view of Herodotus (7.139).

38 sc. in comparison with other Greeks. At the battle of Plataea in 479, the Athenian hoplite force was larger than that of any other state in the Greek alliance except Sparta (Herodotus 9.28.2–29.1)—and only half the Spartan hoplites were full citizens.

39 The Medes and the Persians were actually distinct (though kindred) peoples, but in ordinary Greek usage, and in this play (cf.

CHORUS

Yes, because all Greece would then become subject to the King.[37]

QUEEN

Do they have such great numbers of men in their army?[38]

CHORUS

And an army of a *quality* that has already done the Medes[39] a great deal of harm.[40]

QUEEN

Why, are they distinguished for their wielding of the drawn bow and its darts?[41]

CHORUS

Not at all; they use spears for close combat and carry shields for defence.

QUEEN

And what else apart from that? Is there sufficient wealth in their stores?

CHORUS

They have a fountain of silver, a treasure in their soil.[42]

791), the two names are treated as synonymous; what we call "the Persian wars" Greeks normally called τὰ Μηδικά.

40 Referring mainly to the capture and burning of Sardis in 498, and the victory of Marathon in 490.

41 lit. "is the bow-drawn ‹arrow-›point conspicuous in their hands?"

42 Referring to the silver mines of Laureium, where a rich new vein was discovered a few years before the Persian invasion—and exploited, by the advice of Themistocles, for the building of the fleet that won the battle of Salamis (Herodotus 7.144).

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ

τίς δὲ ποιμάνωρ ἔπεστι κἀπιδεσπόζει στρατῷ;

ΧΟΡΟΣ

οὔτινος δοῦλοι κέκληνται φωτὸς οὐδ' ὑπήκοοι.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ

πῶς ἂν οὖν μένοιεν ἄνδρας πολεμίους ἐπήλυδας;

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ὥστε Δαρείου πολύν τε καὶ καλὸν φθεῖραι στρατόν.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ

δεινά τοι λέγεις κιόντων τοῖς τεκοῦσι φροντίσαι.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ταχ' εἴση πάντα ναμερτῆ λογον·
τοῦδε γὰρ δράμημα φωτὸς Περσικὸν πρέπει μαθεῖν,
καὶ φέρει σαφές τι πρᾶγος ἐσθλὸν ἢ κακὸν κλυεῖν.

ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ

ὦ γῆς ἁπάσης Ἀσίδος πολίσματα,
ὦ Περσὶς αἶα καὶ πολὺς πλούτου λιμήν,
ὡς ἐν μιᾷ πληγῇ κατέφθαρται πολὺς
ὄλβος, τὸ Περσῶν δ' ἄνθος οἴχεται πεσόν.

245 *κιόντων* Wecklein: *ἰόντων* codd.

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43 This has been seen as a reference to the Persians' system of fast couriers (Aeschylus alludes to them at *Agamemnon* 282—but they were mounted), or as a chauvinistic gibe, from a Greek point of view, at Persians' alleged cowardice (they run very fast—away from the enemy); more likely it is simply based on observation of the actual running styles of Greeks and Persians respectively. It

QUEEN

And who is the shepherd, master and commander over their host?

CHORUS

They are not called slaves or subjects to any man.

QUEEN

How then can they resist an invading enemy?

CHORUS

Well enough to have destroyed the large and splendid army of Darius.

QUEEN

What you say is fearful to think about, for the parents of those who have gone there.

[*A* MESSENGER *is seen approaching from the west, in great haste.*]

CHORUS

Well, it seems to me that you will soon know the whole story precisely. The way this man runs clearly identifies him as Persian,[43] and he will be bringing some definite news, good or bad, for us to hear.

MESSENGER

O you cities of the whole land of Asia! O land of Persia, repository[44] of great wealth! How all your great prosperity has been destroyed in a single blow, and the flower of the Persians are fallen and departed! [*To the chorus*] Ah me, it

would not be surprising if these styles tended to differ, given that Greek running techniques had been honed by many generations of athletic competition. [44] lit. "harbour".

ὤμοι, κακὸν μὲν πρῶτον ἀγγέλλειν κακά·
ὅμως δ' ἀνάγκη πᾶν ἀναπτύξαι πάθος,
Πέρσαι· στρατὸς γὰρ πᾶς ὄλωλε βαρβάρων.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

στρ. α ἄνια ἄνια, νεόκοτα καὶ
δάι'· αἰαῖ, διαίνεσθε, Πέρ-
σαι, τόδ' ἄχος κλυόντες.

ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ

ὡς πάντα γ' ἔστ' ἐκεῖνα διαπεπραγμένα·
καὐτὸς δ' ἀέλπτως νόστιμον βλέπω φάος.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἀντ. α ἦ μακροβίοτος ὅδε γέ τις αἰ-
ὼν ἐφάνθη γεραιοῖς, ἀκού-
ειν τόδε πῆμ' ἄελπτον.

ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ

καὶ μὴν παρών γε κοὐ λόγους ἄλλων κλυών,
Πέρσαι, φράσαιμ' ἂν οἷ' ἐπορσύνθη κακά.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

στρ. β ὀτοτοτοῖ, μάταν
τὰ πολλὰ βέλεα παμμιγῆ
γᾶς ἀπ' Ἀσίδος ἦλθ' ἐπ' αἶαν
Δίαν, Ἑλλάδα χώραν.

256 after ἄνι(α) ἄνια codd. add κακὰ (καὶ *b'*, κακὰ λυπηρὰ λυπηρὰ *b'*): del. Prien.

266 γε *b k*: τε M I *b k* (*b'* adds γε before παρών).

268 ὀτοτοτοῖ M I in 274: codd. here, and *b k* in 274, vary (ὀττοτοῖ in most).

is terrible to be the first to announce terrible news, but I have no choice but to reveal the whole sad tale, Persians: the whole of the oriental army has been destroyed!

CHORUS

Painful, painful, unheard-of,
calamitous! Aiai, let your tears flow, Persians,
on hearing this grievous news!

MESSENGER

I assure you, all those forces are annihilated; and I myself never expected to see the day of my return.

CHORUS

Truly this old life of ours
has proved itself too long,[45] when we hear
this sorrow beyond all expectation!

MESSENGER

And I can also tell you, Persians, what kinds of horrors came to pass; I was there myself, I did not merely hear the reports of others.

CHORUS

Ototoi! It was all in vain
that those many weapons, all mingled together,
went from the land of Asia to the country
of Zeus,[46] the land of Hellas!

[45] i.e. we wish we had not lived to hear this news.

[46] Hellen, the eponymous ancestor of the Hellenes, was often said to have been a son of Zeus (e.g. Euripides fr. 481.1–2); later the chorus (532–6), Darius (739–740) and by implication Xerxes himself (915–7) will attribute the Persian disaster to Zeus.

ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ

οὐδὲν γὰρ ἤρκει τόξα, πᾶς δ' ἀπώλλυτο
λεὼς δαμασθεὶς ναΐοισιν ἐμβολαῖς.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ὀτοτοτοῖ, φίλων
ἀντ. β πολύδονα σώμαθ' ἁλιβαφῆ
κατθανόντα λέγεις φέρεσθαι
πλαγκταῖς ἐν διπλάκεσσιν.

ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ

πλήθουσι νεκρῶν δυσπότμως ἐφθαρμένων
Σαλαμῖνος ἀκταὶ πᾶς τε πρόσχωρος τόπος.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἴυζ' ἀπότμοις βοὰν
στρ. γ δυσαιανῆ †Πέρσαις δαΐοις†,
ὡς πάντα παγκάκως θέσαν
<δαίμονες>· αἰαῖ στρατοῦ φθαρέντος.

272–3 and 278–9 interchanged by Stavridès.

279 λεὼς *k*: στρατὸς M I *b k*.

275 πολύδονα σώμαθ' ἁλιβαφῆ Prien: ἁλίδονα σώματα πολυβαφῆ codd.

277 διπλάκεσσιν codd.: πινάκεσσιν (and πλαγκτοῖς) Stavridès.

280 ἀπότμοις West: ἄποτμον codd.

281 Πέρσαις δαΐοις codd. (cf. 286): φίλοις West.

282–3 παγκάκως θέσαν Sier, <δαίμονες> Sommerstein: παγκάκως ἔθεσαν codd. (θεοί add. *b'*, cf. ΣΦ): π. <θεοὶ> θέσαν Heimsoeth.

MESSENGER[47]

Yes, our archery was of no avail; the whole host perished,
destroyed by the ramming of ships.

CHORUS

Ototoi, you are saying
that the dead bodies of our loved ones
are floating, soaked and constantly buffeted by salt water,
shrouded in mantles that drift in the waves![48]

MESSENGER

The shores of Salamis, and all the region near them, are
full of corpses wretchedly slain.

CHORUS

Raise a crying voice of woe
for the wretched fate of ‹our loved ones›,[49]
for the way ‹the gods› have caused
total disaster! Aiai, for our destroyed army!

47 The transposition of the Messenger's two responses (proposed by J. Stavridès, *Quelques remarques critiques sur les Perses d'Eschyle* [Paris, 1890] 11–14, and again by K. Sier, *Hermes* 133 [2005] 410–4) is necessary; there is nothing in 272–3 (below), nor earlier, to reveal to the chorus that the catastrophic battle was fought at sea, yet 274–7 shows that they have been told this.

48 The Persians' luxurious garments (comparable to the δίπλακα . . . καλὴν πορφυρέην that Odysseus was given by his supposed Cretan host, *Odyssey* 19.241–2) have become their funeral robes—except that they will have no funerals. Attractive, however, is Stavridès' emendation πλαγκτοῖς ἐν πινάκεσσιν "among the drifting planks" (cf. *Odyssey* 12.67).

49 The text has been corrupted by the intrusion of annotations from the margin; I translate a suggestion of West's (*Studies* 81).

ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ

ὦ πλεῖστον ἔχθος ὄνομα Σαλαμῖνος κλύειν·
φεῦ, τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ὡς στένω μεμνημένος.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἀντ. γ στυγναί γε δὴ δαΐοις·
μεμνῆσθαί τοι πάρα,
ὡς Περσίδων πολλὰς μάταν
εὔνιδας ἔκτισσαν ἠδ' ἀνάνδρους.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ

σιγῶ πάλαι δύστηνος ἐκπεπληγμένη
κακοῖς· ὑπερβάλλει γὰρ ἥδε συμφορά,
τὸ μήτε λέξαι μήτ' ἐρωτῆσαι πάθη.
ὅμως δ' ἀνάγκη πημονὰς βροτοῖς φέρειν
θεῶν διδόντων· πᾶν δ' ἀναπτύξας πάθος
λέξον καταστάς, κεἰ στένεις κακοῖς ὅμως·
τίς οὐ τέθνηκε, τίνα δὲ καὶ πενθήσομεν
τῶν ἀρχελείων, ὅστ' ἐπὶ σκηπτουχίᾳ
ταχθεὶς ἄνανδρον τάξιν ἠρήμου θανών;

ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ

Ξέρξης μὲν αὐτὸς ζῇ τε καὶ φάος βλέπει—

286 γε δὴ Conradt: γ' (δ' *b' k*, θ' *b'*, om. *b'*) Ἀθᾶναι vel sim. codd.
288 Περσίδων πολλὰς Weil: πολλὰς Περσίδων codd.
289 εὔνιδας ἔκτισσαν Boeckh: ἔκτισαν εὔνιδας vel sim. codd.

MESSENGER

How utterly loathsome is the name of Salamis to my ears!
Ah, how I groan when I remember Athens![50]

CHORUS

She is indeed hateful to her foes:
we can remember well
how many Persian women they caused
to be bereaved and widowed, all for nothing.[51]

QUEEN [*to the MESSENGER*]

I have been silent all this time because I was struck dumb with misery by this catastrophe. The event is so monstrous that one can neither speak nor ask about the sufferings it involved. Still, we mortals have no choice but to endure the sorrows the gods send us; so compose yourself and speak, revealing all that has happened, even if you are groaning under the weight of the disaster. Who has survived, and which of the leaders of the host must we mourn, who after being assigned to hold a staff of command perished and so left his post deserted and unmanned?

MESSENGER

Well, Xerxes himself is alive and sees the light of day—

[50] This passage, and 824, suggest that the tale was already current of how, after the burning of Sardis, Darius ordered a slave to say to him thrice every day before dinner "Master, remember the Athenians" (Herodotus 5.105).

[51] Referring mainly to Marathon (cf. 236, 244): *μάταν*, which has often been queried (e.g. West, *Studies* 81–82), is to be understood from the Persian point of view—their women's husbands and sons were killed in a futile cause.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ

ἐμοῖς μὲν εἶπας δώμασιν φάος μέγα
καὶ λευκὸν ἦμαρ νυκτὸς ἐκ μελαγχίμου.

ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ

Ἀρτεμβάρης δὲ μυρίας ἵππου βραβεὺς
στύφλους παρ' ἀκτὰς θείνεται Σιληνιῶν·
χὠ χιλίαρχος Δαδάκης πληγῇ δορὸς
πήδημα κοῦφον ἐκ νεὼς ἀφήλατο·
Τενάγων τ' ἄριστος Βακτρίων ἰθαγενὴς
θαλασσόπληκτον νῆσον Αἴαντος πολεῖ.
Λίλαιος Ἀρσάμης τε κἀργήστης τρίτος,
οἵδ' ἀμφὶ νῆσον τὴν πελειοθρέμμονα
νικώμενοι κύρισσον ἰσχυρὰν χθόνα,
πηγαῖς τε Νείλου γειτονῶν Αἰγυπτίου
Φαρνοῦχος, οἵ τε ναὸς ἐκ μιᾶς πέσον
Ἀρκτεύς, Ἀδεύης, καὶ Φερεσσεύης τρίτος,
ἵππου μελαίνης ἡγεμὼν τρισμυρίας.
Χρυσεὺς Μάταλλος μυριόνταρχος θανὼν
πυρσὴν ζαπληθῆ δάσκιον γενειάδα
ἔτεγγ', ἀμείβων χρῶτα πορφυρᾷ βαφῇ·

313, 312 transposed by Merkel.
315, 314 transposed by Heimsoeth.

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52 lit. "light". 53 According to the scholia (as emended with the help of Hesychius), this name was given to a part of the coastline of Salamis near "Trophy Point". Probably the reference is to one side of the long peninsula of Cynosura at the eastern extremity of the island.

QUEEN

To my house at least your words come as a great relief,[52]
like bright day shining out after a pitch-dark night.

MESSENGER

But Artembares, the commander of ten thousand horse, is being pounded against the rugged shores of Sileniae;[53] Dadaces, commander of a thousand, was struck by a spear and took an effortless leap out of his ship; and the excellent Tenagon, a noble of the Bactrians, now wanders around[54] the wave-beaten island of Ajax. Lilaeus, Arsames, and Argestes, these three vanquished men were beating their heads against the hard rocks around the island where doves breed,[55] as was Pharnuchus, whose home was near the stream of Egyptian Nile, and three who fell from one ship, Arcteus, Adeues and Pheresseues, leader of thirty thousand dark-skinned horsemen.[56] Matallus of Chrysa,[57] commander of ten thousand, perished; his full, bushy, red-dish beard got a soaking, and a purple dye[58] changed the

54 πολεῖ would normally imply wandering or ranging across the actual territory of the island, but here the context, and the audience's knowledge, make it clear that what is meant is that Tenagon's corpse is drifting around its shores.

55 This may be another way of describing Salamis, or may designate a small island in its vicinity.

56 This line (315) is clearly out of place where it stands in the mss., since Matallus could not be described both as a "commander of ten thousand" and as a "leader of thirty thousand".

57 Possibly the town of this name in the Troad is meant (cf. *Iliad* 1.37), or possibly the place-name ("city of gold") is an invented one (cf. the "Golden Mountains" of Persia in Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 82).

58 sc. of blood.

καὶ Μᾶγος Ἄραβος Ἀρτάβης τε Βάκτριος,
σκληρᾶς μέτοικος γῆς, ἐκεῖ κατέφθιτο.
Ἄμιστρις Ἀμφιστρεύς τε πολύπονον δόρυ
νωμῶν, ὅ τ' ἐσθλὸς Ἀριόμαρδος ἄρδεσιν
πένθος παρασχών, Σεισάμης θ' ὁ Μύσιος,
Θάρυβίς τε πεντήκοντα πεντάκις νεῶν
ταγός, γένος Λυρναῖος, εὐειδὴς ἀνήρ,
κεῖται θανὼν δείλαιος οὐ μάλ' εὐτυχῶς·
Σύεννεσίς τε, πρῶτος εἰς εὐψυχίαν,
Κίλικων ἄπαρχος, εἷς ἀνὴρ πλεῖστον πόνον
ἐχθροῖς παρασχών, εὐκλεῶς ἀπώλετο.
τοσόνδ' ἐπαρχόντων ὑπεμνήσθην πέρι·
πολλῶν παρόντων δ' ὀλίγ' ἀπαγγέλλω κακά.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ

αἰαῖ, κακῶν ὕψιστα δὴ κλύω τάδε,
αἴσχη τε Πέρσαις καὶ λιγέα κωκύματα.
ἀτὰρ φράσον μοι τοῦτ' ἀναστρέψας πάλιν·
πόσον νεῶν δὴ πλῆθος ἦν Ἑλληνίδων,
ὥστ' ἀξιῶσαι Περσικῷ στρατεύματι
μάχην ξυνάψαι ναΐοισιν ἐμβολαῖς;

321 ἄρδεσι(ν) Bothe: Σάρδεσι codd.
322 θ' *k*: om. M I *b k*. 326 Σύεννεσίς Turnebus: σύννεσις M *b*: σύνεσις vel sim. I *b k*.
329 τοσόνδ' ἐπαρχόντων Heimsoeth: τοιῶνδ' (τοιῶνδέ γ' *z*) ἀρχόντων (M *b k*: νῦν add. I *b k*) codd.
334 νεῶν δὴ πλῆθος ἦν Musgrave: δὴ (δὲ *b'* *k*) πλῆθος ἦν νεῶν codd.

colour of his skin. And Magus the Arab and Artabes the Bactrian, now a permanent resident in a harsh country, perished there too; and Amistris, and Amphistreus who wielded a spear that caused much trouble, and brave Ariomardus who dispensed grief with his arrows, and Seisames the Mysian, and Tharybis, admiral of five times fifty ships, a Lyrnaean by birth[59] and a handsome man, lies wretchedly dead, having enjoyed no very good fortune. And Syennesis,[60] foremost in courage, the leader of the Cilicians, who gave more trouble to the enemy than any other single man, met a glorious end. All this I report about the commanders; but I have mentioned only a small part of the great suffering that there was.

QUEEN

Aiai, this is truly the most towering disaster I have ever heard of, a cause for shame and for shrill wailing to the Persians! But go back to the beginning and tell me this: how great were the actual numbers of the Greek ships, that they thought themselves capable of joining battle with the Persian fleet and ramming their vessels?

59 This adjective should derive from a place-name Lyrna; ancient scholars knew of no such place, and could only suggest that it was an abbreviated form of Lyrnessus in the Troad (cf. n. 57).

60 Syennesis is the only member of Xerxes' expedition named in the play, except the King himself, who can be firmly identified with an actual person. This "name" was the title of all the kings of Cilicia (in south-eastern Asia Minor), and its contemporary bearer led the Cilician contingent of Xerxes' fleet (Herodotus 7.98).

ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ

πλήθους μὲν ἂν σάφ' ἴσθ' ἕκατι βαρβάρων
ναῦς ἂν κρατῆσαι. καὶ γὰρ Ἕλλησιν μὲν ἦν
ὁ πᾶς ἀριθμὸς εἰς τριακάδας δέκα
340 ναῶν, δεκὰς δ' ἦν τῶνδε χωρὶς ἔκκριτος·
Ξέρξῃ δέ, καὶ γὰρ οἶδα, χιλιὰς μὲν ἦν
ὧν ἦγε πλῆθος, αἱ δ' ὑπέρκοποι τάχει
ἑκατὸν δὶς ἦσαν ἑπτά θ'· ὧδ' ἔχει λόγος.
μή σοι δοκοῦμεν τῇδε λειφθῆναι μάχης;
345 ἀλλ' ὧδε δαίμων τις κατέφθειρε στρατόν,
τάλαντα βρίσας οὐκ ἰσορρόπῳ τύχῃ.
θεοὶ πόλιν σῴζουσι Παλλάδος θεᾶς.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ

ἔτ' ἆρ' Ἀθηνῶν ἐστ' ἀπόρθητος πόλις;

ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ

ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ὄντων ἔρκος ἐστὶν ἀσφαλές.

338 *ναῦς ἂν* Heimsoeth: *ναυσὶ* codd.
342 *ὑπέρκοποι* Wakefield: *ὑπέρκομποι* codd., Plutarch *Themistocles* 14.1. 344 *μάχης* Todt: *μάχῃ* codd.

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61 lit. "ten thirties of ships". Herodotus (8.43–48) gives the total of the Greek fleet as 385, of which 180 were Athenian. The Persian messenger cannot of course give an exact figure, and Aeschylus rounds down rather than up so as to maximize the disparity between the two fleets.

62 The natural way of understanding this is to take the 207 extra-fast ships to be part of the total of 1000, just as the ten ships of the Greek élite squadron are part of their total of 300. Herodotus (7.89.1, 7.184.1) seems to have read the passage otherwise, for he gives the total numbers of the Persian fleet, when it

MESSENGER

I assure you that, so far as numbers are concerned, the fleet of the Easterners would have prevailed. The Greeks had a grand total of about three hundred ships,[61] and ten of these formed a special select squadron; whereas Xerxes—I know this for sure—had a thousand under his command, and those of outstanding speed numbered two hundred and seven.[62] Such is the reckoning; I hardly imagine you'll consider we were inferior in *that* respect in the battle! It was some divinity that destroyed our fleet like this, weighting the scales so that fortune did not fall out even: the gods have saved the city of the goddess Pallas.

QUEEN

Then the city of Athens is still unsacked?

MESSENGER

While she has her men, her defences are secure.[63]

first reached Greece, as precisely 1207; they suffered, however, according to his narrative, severe losses before Salamis (by storm, and in the battle of Artemisium), and at Salamis they did not greatly outnumber the Greeks (8.13; contrast 8.66 where he implausibly claims that the losses were made good by reinforcements from subjugated Greek states).

63 This either alludes to, or else it inspired, the story of Themistocles' retort to the Corinthian Adeimantus at the Greek council of war which finally decided to stand and fight at Salamis. Adeimantus had tried to silence Themistocles, and prevent his proposal being put to a vote, because Themistocles was "a man without a city", Attica having been evacuated by its population, its territory occupied by the Persians, and the city sacked and burned; to which Themistocles replied "We have a city and a country greater than yours, while we have two hundred ships and their crews" (Herodotus 8.61).

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ

ἀρχὴ δὲ ναυσὶ συμβολῆς τίς ἦν φράσον·
τίνες κατῆρξαν, πότερον Ἕλληνες, μάχης,
ἢ παῖς ἐμός, πλήθει καταυχήσας νεῶν;

ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ

ἦρξεν μέν, ὦ δέσποινα, τοῦ παντὸς κακοῦ
φανεὶς ἀλάστωρ ἢ κακὸς δαίμων ποθέν.
ἀνὴρ γὰρ Ἕλλην ἐξ Ἀθηναίων στρατοῦ
ἐλθὼν ἔλεξε παιδὶ σῷ Ξέρξῃ τάδε,
ὡς εἰ μελαίνης νυκτὸς ἵξεται κνέφας,
Ἕλληνες οὐ μενοῖεν, ἀλλὰ σέλμασιν
ναῶν ἐπανθορόντες ἄλλος ἄλλοσε
δρασμῷ κρυφαίῳ βίοτον ἐκσωσοίατο.
ὁ δ' εὐθὺς ὡς ἤκουσεν, οὐ ξυνεὶς δόλον
Ἕλληνος ἀνδρὸς οὐδὲ τὸν θεῶν φθόνον,
πᾶσιν προφωνεῖ τόνδε ναυάρχοις λόγον·
εὖτ' ἂν φλέγων ἀκτῖσιν ἥλιος χθόνα
λήξῃ, κνέφας δὲ τέμενος αἰθέρος λάβῃ,
τάξαι νεῶν στῖφος μὲν ἐν στοίχοις τρισὶν
ἔκπλους φυλάσσειν καὶ πόρους ἁλιρρόθους,
ἄλλας δὲ κύκλῳ νῆσον Αἴαντος πέριξ·
ὡς εἰ μόρον φευξοίαθ' Ἕλληνες κακόν,
ναυσὶν κρυφαίως δρασμὸν εὑρόντες τινά,
πᾶσι στερέσθαι κρατὸς ἦν προκείμενον.
τοσαῦτ' ἔλεξε, κάρθ' ὑπ' εὐθύμου φρενός·
οὐ γὰρ τὸ μέλλον ἐκ θεῶν ἠπίστατο·

360 ἐκσωσοίατο Monk: ἐκσωσαίατο (-τον *b'*) codd.

QUEEN

But tell me how the naval battle began. Who started the fight? Was it the Greeks, or was it my son, proudly confident in the superior numbers of his fleet?

MESSENGER

The start of all our sorrows, mistress, was the appearance from somewhere of an avenging demon or an evil spirit. A Greek man came from the Athenian fleet[64] and told your son Xerxes that when the gloom of black night should come on, the Greeks would not stay where they were, but would leap on to the benches of their ships and seek to save their lives by taking to flight in all directions under cover of the darkness. As soon as he heard this, not understanding the deceit of the Greek or the jealousy of the gods, he proclaimed the following order to all his admirals. When the sun ceased to burn the earth with its rays, and darkness took hold of the celestial regions, they were to arrange the mass of their ships in three lines and guard the exits[65] and the surging straits, while stationing others so as to surround the island of Ajax completely;[66] because if the Greeks should escape grim death by finding some means of escaping unnoticed with their ships, it was decreed that all the admirals were to lose their heads. So much he said, speaking from a very cheerful heart, because he did not understand what the gods were about to do; and they, obe-

64 This was the slave Sicinnus, bringing a message from his master Themistocles (Herodotus 8.75).

65 sc. from the bay of Eleusis north of Salamis, especially the straits at the eastern end of the island (cf. Herodotus 8.76.1).

66 And, in particular, to watch the western exit from the bay, on the Megarian side (*ibid.*)

οἱ δ' οὐκ ἀκόσμως, ἀλλὰ πειθάρχῳ φρενὶ
δεῖπνόν τ' ἐπορσύνοντο, ναυβάτης τ' ἀνὴρ
τροποῦτο κώπην σκαλμὸν ἀμφ' εὐήρετμον.
ἐπεὶ δὲ φέγγος ἡλίου κατέφθιτο
καὶ νὺξ ἐπῆλθε, πᾶς ἀνὴρ κώπης ἄναξ
εἰς ναῦν ἐχώρει πᾶς θ' ὅπλων ἐπιστάτης·
τάξις δὲ τάξιν παρεκάλει νεὼς μακρᾶς,
πλέουσι δ' ὡς ἕκαστος ἦν τεταγμένος·
καὶ πάννυχοι δὴ διάπλοον καθίστασαν
ναῶν ἄνακτες πάντα ναυτικὸν λεών.
καὶ νὺξ ἐχώρει, κοὐ μάλ' Ἑλλήνων στρατὸς
κρυφαῖον ἔκπλουν οὐδαμῇ καθίστατο·
ἐπεί γε μέντοι λευκόπωλος ἡμέρα
πᾶσαν κατέσχε γαῖαν εὐφεγγὴς ἰδεῖν,
πρῶτον μὲν ἠχῇ κέλαδος Ἑλλήνων πάρα
μολπηδὸν ηὐφήμησεν, ὄρθιον δ' ἅμα
ἀντηλάλαξε νησιώτιδος πέτρας
ἠχώ· φόβος δὲ πᾶσι βαρβάροις παρῆν
γνώμης ἀποσφαλεῖσιν· οὐ γὰρ ὡς φυγῇ
παιᾶν' ἐφύμνουν σεμνὸν Ἕλληνες τότε,
ἀλλ' εἰς μάχην ὁρμῶντες εὐψύχῳ θράσει·
σάλπιγξ δ' ἀυτῇ πάντ' ἐκεῖν' ἐπέφλεγεν.
εὐθὺς δὲ κώπης ῥοθιάδος ξυνεμβολῇ
ἔπαισαν ἅλμην βρύχιον ἐκ κελεύματος,
θοῶς δὲ πάντες ἦσαν ἐκφανεῖς ἰδεῖν·
τὸ δεξιὸν μὲν πρῶτον εὐτάκτως κέρας

375 δεῖπνόν τ' *z*: δεῖπνον M I *b k*.

diently and in good order, prepared their supper, and each crew member fastened his oar by its loop to a thole-pin well designed for good rowing.[67] When the light of the sun disappeared and night came on, every master of the oar and every man-at-arms[68] went on board his ship; one rank encouraged another all along each vessel, and they sailed as each captain had been directed. All through the night, the masters of the fleet kept the whole naval host sailing to and fro. The night wore on, but the Greek force did not attempt a clandestine break-out in any direction at all. Instead, when Day with her white horses[69] spread her brilliant light over all the earth, first of all there rang out loudly a joyful sound of song from the Greeks, and simultaneously the echo of it resounded back from the cliffs of the island. All we Easterners were terrified, because we had been deceived in our expectation: the Greeks were now raising the holy paean-song, not with a view to taking flight, but in the act of moving out to battle, with cheerful confidence, and the call of the trumpet was setting the whole place ablaze. At once, on a word of command, they all pulled their oars together, struck the deep sea-water and made it roar—and then suddenly they were all there in plain sight. First there was the right wing, leading the way

[67] On these details of the trireme rower's equipment, see J. S. Morrison and R. T. Williams, *Greek Oared Ships 900–322* BC (Cambridge, 1968) 152, 269, 284.

[68] i.e. marine (the prose word would be ἐπιβάτης).

[69] Cf. *Odyssey* 23.243–6 where Athene prevents the Dawn-goddess from "yoking the swift horses, Lampon and Phaëthon, who convey [her] and bring light to men".

ἡγεῖτο κόσμῳ, δεύτερον δ' ὁ πᾶς στόλος
ἐπεξεχώρει, καὶ παρῆν ὁμοῦ κλύειν
πολλὴν βοήν· "ὦ παῖδες Ἑλλήνων, ἴτε,
ἐλευθεροῦτε πατρίδ', ἐλευθεροῦτε δὲ
παῖδας, γυναῖκας, θεῶν τε πατρῴων ἕδη,
θήκας τε προγόνων· νῦν ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀγών".
καὶ μὴν παρ' ἡμῶν Περσίδος γλώσσης ῥόθος
ὑπηντίαζε, κοὐκέτ' ἦν μέλλειν ἀκμή.
εὐθὺς δὲ ναῦς ἐν νηὶ χαλκήρη στόλον
ἔπαισεν· ἦρξε δ' ἐμβολῆς Ἑλληνικὴ
ναῦς, κἀποθραύει πάντα Φοινίσσης νεὼς
κόρυμβ'· ἐπ' ἄλλην δ' ἄλλος ηὔθυνεν δόρυ.
τὰ πρῶτα μέν νυν ῥεῦμα Περσικοῦ στρατοῦ
ἀντεῖχεν· ὡς δὲ πλῆθος ἐν στενῷ νεῶν
ἤθροιστ', ἀρωγὴ δ' οὔτις ἀλλήλοις παρῆν,
αὐτοὶ δ' ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐμβολαῖς χαλκοστόμοις
παίοντ', ἔθραυον πάντα κωπήρη στόλον,
Ἑλληνικαί τε νῆες οὐκ ἀφρασμόνως
κύκλῳ πέριξ ἔθεινον· ὑπτιοῦτο δὲ
σκάφη νεῶν, θάλασσα δ' οὐκέτ' ἦν ἰδεῖν,
ναυαγίων πλήθουσα καὶ φόνῳ βροτῶν·
ἀκταὶ δὲ νεκρῶν χοιράδες τ' ἐπλήθυον.
φυγῇ δ' ἀκόσμῳ πᾶσα ναῦς ἠρέσσετο,
ὅσαιπερ ἦσαν βαρβάρου στρατεύματος·
τοὶ δ' ὥστε θύννους ἤ τιν' ἰχθύων βόλον
ἀγαῖσι κωπῶν θραύμασίν τ' ἐρειπίων

422 ἀκόσμῳ *b*: ἀκόσμως M I *b k*.

with good order and discipline, and then the whole fleet coming on behind, and from all of them together one could hear a great cry: "Come on, sons of the Greeks, for the freedom of your homeland, for the freedom of your children, your wives, the temples of your fathers' gods, and the tombs of your ancestors! Now all is at stake!" And likewise from our side there was a surge of Persian speech in reply; the time for delay was past. At once one ship began to strike another with its projecting bronze beak; the first to ram was a Greek ship,[70] which sheared off the whole stern of a Phoenician vessel, and then each captain chose a different enemy ship at which to run his own. At first the streaming Persian force resisted firmly; but when our masses of ships were crowded into a narrow space, they had no way to come to each other's help, they got struck by their own side's bronze-pointed rams, they had the whole of their oarage smashed, and the Greek ships, with careful coordination, surrounded them completely and went on striking them. The hulls of our ships turned keel-up, and the sea surface was no longer visible, filled as it was with the wreckage of ships and the slaughter of men; the shores and reefs were also full of corpses. Every remaining ship of the Eastern armada was being rowed away in disorderly flight; meanwhile the enemy were clubbing men and splitting their spines with broken pieces of oars and spars from the wreckage, as if they were tunny or some other catch of

[70] That of the Athenian, Ameinias of Pallene, according to Herodotus 8.84.1.

ἔπαιον, ἐρράχιζον· οἰμωγὴ δ' ὁμοῦ
κωκύμασιν κατεῖχε πελαγίαν ἅλα,
ἕως κελαινὸν νυκτὸς ὄμμ' ἀφείλετο.
κακῶν δὲ πλῆθος, οὐδ' ἂν εἰ δέκ' ἤματα
στοιχηγοροίην, οὐκ ἂν ἐκπλήσαιμί σοι·
εὖ γὰρ τόδ' ἴσθι, μηδάμ' ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ
πλῆθος τοσουτάριθμον ἀνθρώπων θανεῖν.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ

αἰαῖ, κακῶν δὴ πέλαγος ἔρρωγεν μέγα
Πέρσαις τε καὶ πρόπαντι βαρβάρων γένει.

ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ

εὖ νυν τόδ' ἴσθι, μηδέπω μεσοῦν κακόν·
τοιάδ' ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἦλθε συμφορὰ πάθους
ὡς τοῖσδε καὶ δὶς ἀντισηκῶσαι ῥοπῇ.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ

καὶ τίς γένοιτ' ἂν τῆσδ' ἔτ' ἐχθίων τύχη;
λέξον τίν' αὖ φὴς τήνδε συμφορὰν στρατῷ
ἐλθεῖν, κακῶν ῥέπουσαν εἰς τὰ μάσσονα.

ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ

Περσῶν ὅσοιπερ ἦσαν ἀκμαῖοι φύσιν
ψυχήν τ' ἄριστοι κεὐγένειαν ἐκπρεπεῖς,
αὐτῷ τ' ἄνακτι πίστιν ἐν πρώτοις ἀεί,
τεθνᾶσιν αἰσχρῶς δυσκλεεστάτῳ πότμῳ.

428 κελαινὸν *b*: κελαινῆς M I *b k*.
431 μηδάμ' *b* (?) *k*: μηδ' ἂν M I *b k*.
444 πότμῳ *b*: μόρῳ M I *b k*.

fish,[71] and a mixture of shrieking and wailing filled the expanse of the sea, until the dark face of night blotted it out. Our sufferings were so multitudinous that I could not describe them fully to you if I were to talk for ten days on end: you can be certain that never have so vast a number of human beings perished in a single day.

QUEEN

Aiai, what a great sea of troubles has burst upon the Persians and the whole Eastern race!

MESSENGER

Well, be sure of this, the tale of disaster is not yet even half told: such a calamitous event has occurred, on top of what I have told you, that it outweighs that in the scale fully twice over.

QUEEN

What possible misfortune could be even more hateful than the one we have heard of? Tell us what you say is this further disaster that has come upon the army that weighs even more heavily in the scale of evil.

MESSENGER

All those Persians who were in their bodily prime, outstanding in courage, notable for high birth, and who always showed the highest degree of loyalty to the person of the King, have perished shamefully by a most ignoble fate.

71 Tunny were caught in huge shoals, and, being a very large fish, had to be killed by clubbing or spearing after being netted. In an unknown play of Aeschylus (fr. 307) a man is described as having endured a savage beating "without a groan, like a voiceless tunny-fish". Cf. Manilius, *Astronomica* 5.658–675, and see A. Dalby, *Food in the Ancient World from A to Z* (London, 2003) 333–7.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ

οἳ 'γὼ τάλαινα συμφορᾶς κακῆς, φίλοι.
ποίῳ μόρῳ δὲ τούσδε φὴς ὀλωλέναι;

ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ

νῆσός τίς ἐστι πρόσθε Σαλαμῖνος τόπων,
βαιά, δύσορμος ναυσίν, ἣν ὁ φιλόχορος
Πὰν ἐμβατεύει ποντίας ἀκτῆς ἔπι.
ἐνταῦθα πέμπει τούσδ', ὅπως, ὅτ' ἐκ νεῶν
φθαρέντες ἐχθροὶ νῆσον ἐκσῴζοίατο,
κτείνοιεν εὐχείρωτον Ἑλλήνων στρατόν,
φίλους δ' ὑπεκσῴζοιεν ἐναλίων πόρων,
κακῶς τὸ μέλλον ἱστορῶν. ὡς γὰρ θεὸς
ναῶν ἔδωκε κῦδος Ἕλλησιν μάχης,
αὐθημερὸν φάρξαντες εὐχάλκοις δέμας
ὅπλοισι ναῶν ἐξέθρῳσκον, ἀμφὶ δὲ
κυκλοῦντο πᾶσαν νῆσον, ὥστ' ἀμηχανεῖν
ὅποι τράποιντο· πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ χερῶν
πέτροισιν ἠράσσοντο, τοξικῆς τ' ἀπὸ
θώμιγγος ἰοὶ προσπίτνοντες ὤλλυσαν·
τέλος δ' ἐφορμηθέντες ἐς ἑνὸς ῥόθου
παίουσι, κρεοκοποῦσι δυστήνων μέλη,

450 ὅτ' ἐκ Elmsley: ὅταν vel sim. codd.

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72 This island was Psyttaleia, on which, according to Herodotus (8.76.1–2), Xerxes stationed "many of the Persians" (Pausanias 1.36.2 gives the number as about 400) with the same objective as is stated here; they were killed to the last man by an

QUEEN

Ah, wretched me, my friends, this terrible catastrophe! By what kind of death do you say they have perished?

MESSENGER

There is an island in front of Salamis,[72] small and offering no good anchorage for ships, whose seashore is a haunt of Pan, lover of dances.[73] Xerxes sent these men there so that, when shipwrecked enemy men were trying to reach safety on the island, they could kill the Greek warriors when they were an easy prey while rescuing their own men from the straits of the sea; he was reading the future badly. When god had given the triumph in the naval battle to the Greeks, that same day they clad themselves in stout bronze armour, leaped off their ships, and landed all around the island, so that the Persians had no idea which way to turn. They were being heavily battered by hand-thrown stones, and hit and killed by arrows shot from the bowstring, until finally the Greeks charged them in a simultaneous rush and struck them down, hacking the wretched men's limbs

Athenian hoplite force, led by Aristeides, which crossed over from Salamis while the naval battle was in progress (Herodotus 8.95). In Aeschylus' treatment, on the other hand, the Greek attack on the island is made immediately *after* the naval battle, and by the same men who had fought it. Psyttaleia has been identified in modern times, sometimes with the island now officially so named (formerly Lipsokoutali) between Cynosura and the Peiraeus, sometimes with the island of Aghios Georghios in the bay north of Salamis town.

73 Pausanias *loc.cit.* noted that there were many roughly-carved wooden images of Pan on the island.

ἕως ἁπάντων ἐξαπέφθειραν βίον.
Ξέρξης δ' ἀνώμωξεν κακῶν ὁρῶν βάθος·
ἕδραν γὰρ εἶχε παντὸς εὐαγῆ στρατοῦ,
ὑψηλὸν ὄχθον ἄγχι πελαγίας ἁλός·
ῥήξας δὲ πέπλους κἀνακωκύσας λιγύ,
πεζῷ παραγγείλας ἄφαρ στρατεύματι,
ἵησ' ἀκόσμῳ ξὺν φυγῇ. τοιάνδε τοι
πρὸς τῇ πάροιθε συμφορᾷ πάρα στένειν.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ

ὦ στυγνὲ δαῖμον, ὡς ἄρ' ἔψευσας φρενῶν
Πέρσας· πικρὰν δὲ παῖς ἐμὸς τιμωρίαν
κλεινῶν Ἀθηνῶν ηὗρε, κοὐκ ἀπήρκεσαν
οὓς πρόσθε Μαραθὼν βαρβάρων ἀπώλεσεν·
ὧν ἀντίποινα παῖς ἐμὸς πράξειν δοκῶν
τοσόνδε πλῆθος πημάτων ἐπέσπασεν.
σὺ δ' εἰπέ, ναῶν αἳ πεφεύγασιν μόρον,
ποῦ τάσδ' ἔλειπες; οἶσθα σημῆναι τορῶς;

ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ

ναῶν δὲ ταγοὶ τῶν λελειμμένων σύδην
κατ' οὖρον οὐκ εὔκοσμον αἴρονται φυγήν.
στρατὸς δ' ὁ λοιπὸς ἔν τε Βοιωτῶν χθονὶ
διώλλυθ', οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ κρηναῖον γάνος
δίψῃ πονοῦντες, <οἱ δὲ
>· οἱ δ' ὑπ' ἄσθματος κενοῦ

470 τοι West: σοι codd.
474 ἀπήρκεσαν *b k*: ἀπήρκεσε(ν) M I *b*.
481 αἴρονται Elmsley: αἰροῦνται M: αἰροῦνται vel sim. I *b k*.
484 lacuna posited by Roussel.

until they had extinguished the life of every one of them. Xerxes wailed aloud when he saw this depth of disaster; he was seated in plain sight of the whole army, on a high cliff close to the sea. He tore his robes, uttered a piercing cry of grief, and immediately gave an order to the land army, sending them off in helter-skelter flight. Such, I tell you, is the disaster you have to mourn, in addition to the previous one.

QUEEN

O cruel divinity, how I see you have beguiled the minds of the Persians! My son has found his vengeance upon famous Athens to be a bitter one; the Eastern lives that Marathon had already destroyed were not enough for him. My son, in the belief that he was going to inflict punishment for that, has drawn upon himself this great multitude of sorrows. But tell me—those of the ships that escaped destruction—where did you leave them? Do you know enough to give us clear information?

MESSENGER

The commanders of the remaining ships took to headlong, disorderly flight, running before the wind. The rest of the host[74] suffered continual losses, first of all in the land of the Boeotians, some of them prostrated by thirst when close to a sparkling spring, ‹others by hunger›,[75] while we survi-

[74] i.e. the land army.

[75] Or possibly disease (cf. Herodotus 8.115.3), which is not, however, otherwise mentioned in this speech, whereas hunger and thirst make a natural pair and appear together in 489–491.

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484 κενοῦ Diggle: κενοὶ codd.

διεκπερῶμεν εἴς τε Φωκέων χθόνα
καὶ Δωρίδ' αἶαν Μηλιᾶ τε κόλπον, οὗ
Σπερχειὸς ἄρδει πεδίον εὐμενεῖ ποτῷ·
κἀντεῦθεν ἡμᾶς γῆς Ἀχαιίδος πέδον
καὶ Θεσσαλῶν πόλεις ὑπεσπανισμένους
βορᾶς ἐδέξαντ'· ἔνθα δὴ πλεῖστοι θάνον
δίψῃ τε λιμῷ τ'· ἀμφότερα γὰρ ἦν τάδε.
Μαγνητικὴν δὲ γαῖαν εἴς τε Μακεδόνων
χώραν ἀφικόμεσθ', ἐπ' Ἀξιοῦ πόρον,
Βόλβης θ' ἕλειον δόνακα, Πάγγαιόν τ' ὄρος,
Ἠδωνίδ' αἶαν. νυκτὶ δ' ἐν ταύτῃ θεὸς
χειμῶν' ἄωρον ὦρσε, πήγνυσιν δὲ πᾶν
ῥέεθρον ἀγνοῦ Στρύμονος· θεοὺς δέ τις
τὸ πρὶν νομίζων οὐδαμοῦ τότ' ηὔχετο
λιταῖσι, γαῖαν οὐρανόν τε προσκυνῶν.
ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλὰ θεοκλυτῶν ἐπαύσατο
στρατός, περᾷ κρυσταλλοπῆγα διά πόρον·
χὥστις μὲν ἡμῶν πρὶν σκεδασθῆναι θεοῦ
ἀκτῖνας ὡρμήθη, σεσωμένος κυρεῖ·
φλέγων γὰρ αὐγαῖς λαμπρὸς ἡλίου κύκλος
μέσον πόρον διῆκε θερμαίνων φλογί·
πίπτον δ' ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισιν· ηὐτύχει δέ τοι

489 πόλεις Schiller: πόλις M *b k* (?) Σ^{Φ}: πόλισμ' I *b k*.
506 ηὐτύχει (εὐ-) G.C.W. Schneider: εὐτυχεῖ M γρI *k*: εὐτυχεῖς *b*: εὐτυχὴς *b k*.

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76 That is, Achaea Phthiotis, on the north shore of the Malian Gulf.

vors, out of breath and panting, passed on into the country of the Phocians and the land of Doris and came to the Malian Gulf, where the Spercheius waters the plain and provides drink bountifully. From there the soil of Achaea[76] received us, and then the cities of Thessaly; we were very short of food, and very many died in those parts from thirst and hunger—we had both of them. Then we reached the land of Magnesia[77] and entered the country of the Macedonians, coming to the river Axius,[78] the reed-swamps of Lake Bolbe,[79] and Mount Pangaeum in the land of Edonia.[80] That night the god brought on an unseasonable cold snap, and froze the whole stream of holy Strymon; and those who had never before paid any regard to the gods now addressed them with prayers, making obeisance to earth and heaven. When the army had finished its many invocations of the gods, it began to cross the river, now solid ice. Those of us who started across before the Sun-god scattered his rays, got over safely; for the brilliant orb of the Sun, with his blazing beams, parted the ice in the middle of the channel,[81] heating it with his flames. The men fell one on top of another, and he was lucky, I tell you,

77 The north-eastern coastal region of Thessaly, dominated by Mount Ossa. 78 This river, which flows across Macedonia into the Thermaic Gulf, marks approximately the point at which the Persians' line of march turned from north to east.

79 This lake formed part of the boundary between the Chalcidic region to the south of it, with its Greek colonies, and the Macedonian kingdom. 80 The mention of Mount Pangaeum is technically out of place, since it lies *east* of the Strymon; but probably all that is meant is that the army came *in sight* of the mountain. 81 lit. "caused the middle of the channel to move apart" (διεῆκε is aorist of διίημι).

ὅστις τάχιστα πνεῦμ' ἀπέρρηξεν βίου.
ὅσοι δὲ λοιποὶ κἄτυχον σωτηρίας,
Θρῄκην περάσαντες μόγις πολλῷ πόνῳ
ἥκουσιν ἐκφυγόντες, οὐ πολλοί τινες,
ἐφ' ἑστιοῦχον γαῖαν· ὡς στένειν πόλιν
Περσῶν, ποθοῦσαν φιλτάτην ἥβην χθονός.
ταῦτ' ἔστ' ἀληθῆ· πολλὰ δ' ἐκλείπω λέγων
κακῶν ἃ Πέρσαις ἐγκατέσκηψεν θεός.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ὦ δυσπόνητε δαῖμον, ὡς ἄγαν βαρὺς
ποδοῖν ἐνήλου παντὶ Περσικῷ γένει.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ

οἳ 'γὼ τάλαινα διαπεπραγμένου στρατοῦ.
ὦ νυκτὸς ὄψις ἐμφανὴς ἐννυπίων,
ὡς κάρτα μοι σαφῶς ἐδήλωσας κακά·
ὑμεῖς δὲ φαύλως αὖτ' ἄγαν ἐκρίνατε.
ὅμως, ἐπειδὴ τῇδ' ἐκύρωσεν φάτις
ὑμῶν, θεοῖς μὲν πρῶτον εὔξασθαι θέλω·
ἔπειτα Γῇ τε καὶ φθιτοῖς δωρήματα
ἥξω λαβοῦσα πελανὸν ἐξ οἴκων ἐμῶν,
ἐπίσταμαι μὲν ὡς ἐπ' ἐξειργασμένοις,
ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν εἴ τι δὴ λῷον πέλοι.
ὑμᾶς δὲ χρὴ 'πὶ τοῖσδε τοῖς πεπραγμένοις
πιστοῖσι πιστὰ ξυμφέρειν βουλεύματα·
καὶ παῖδ', ἐάνπερ δεῦρ' ἐμοῦ πρόσθεν μόλῃ,

who broke off the breath of life soonest. Those who were left and had gained safety crossed Thrace and have now, after escaping with difficulty and with much hard toil, returned to the land of their hearth and home—but not many of them; so that the city of the Persians must grieve, longing vainly for the beloved youth of the land. All this is true; and there is much that I have omitted in my speech of the evils that a god has brought down upon the Persians.

[*Exit.*]

CHORUS

O you god who has caused such toil and grief, how very heavily you have leaped and trampled on the entire Persian race!

QUEEN

Ah, wretched me, our army annihilated! O you clear dream-vision of the night, how very plainly you revealed these disasters to me—and you [*turning to the chorus*], in interpreting the dream, took it far too lightly! All the same, since this was your firm advice,[82] I intend first to pray to the gods; then I will return, bringing from my palace a rich libation as a gift to Earth and the dead. I know that this is after the event, but it is in the hope that there may be something better to come in the future. For your part, it is your duty, in the light of these events, to offer trusty counsel to us who trust you; and if my son comes here before I

[82] Cf. 216–220; it is noteworthy that no specific mention is here made of Darius (contrast 220–3 and 620–1).

παρηγορεῖτε καὶ προπέμπετ' εἰς δόμους,
μὴ καί τι πρὸς κακοῖσι προσθῆται κακόν.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, νῦν <δὴ> Περσῶν
τῶν μεγαλαύχων καὶ πολυάνδρων
στρατιὰν ὀλέσας
ἄστυ τὸ Σούσων ἠδ' Ἀγβατάνων
πένθει δνοφερῷ κατέκρυψας.
πολλαὶ δ' ἀπαλαῖς χερσὶ καλύπτρας
κατερεικόμεναι < >
διαμυδαλέους δάκρυσι κόλπους
τέγγουσ' ἄλγους μετέχουσαι·
αἱ δ' ἀβρόγοοι Περσίδες ἀνδρῶν
ποθέουσαι ἰδεῖν ἀρτιζυγίαν,
λέκτρων εὐνὰς ἀβροχίτωνας,
χλιδανῆς ἥβης τέρψιν, ἀφεῖσαι,
πενθοῦσι γόοις ἀκορεστοτάτοις·
κἀγὼ δὲ μόρον τῶν οἰχομένων
αἴρω δοκίμως πολυπενθῆ.

531 μὴ καί τι I *b k*: καὶ μή τι *k*: μηκέτι M *b*.
531 προσθῆται vel sim. *k*: προσθῆτι *b*: πρόσθητε vel sim. M I *b k*.
532 νῦν <δὴ> Scholefield: νῦν τῶν *b k*: νῦν M I *b k*.
538 lacuna posited by Dindorf, who suggested e.g. <μητέρες οἰκτραὶ>.
539 διαμυδαλέους *b k*: διαμυδαλέοις vel sim. M I *b k* ΣΦ.

return, comfort him and escort him home, for fear that he may add some further harm to the harm he has suffered.[83]

[*She leaves, by the way she came.*]

CHORUS

O Zeus the King, now, now by destroying
the army of the boastful
and populous Persian nation
you have covered the city of Susa and Agbatana
with a dark cloud of mourning.
Many ‹mothers in a piteous plight›[84]
are rending their veils with their delicate hands
and wetting the folds of their garments till they are
soaked through
with tears, as they take their share in the sorrow;
and the soft, wailing Persian women who yearn
to see the men they lately wedded,
abandoning the soft-coverleted beds they had slept in,
the delight of their pampered youth,
grieve with wailing that is utterly insatiable.
And I too shoulder the burden of the death of the
departed,
truly a theme for mourning far and wide.

[83] Probably to be taken as a guarded hint that she fears that Xerxes in his humiliation may commit suicide.

[84] I translate the supplement suggested by Dindorf; something of the sort is necessary to identify the women being spoken of here in contrast with the widowed brides of 541–5, who are introduced (note αἱ δ') as a group distinct from them.

στρ. α νῦν γὰρ πρόπασα δὴ στένει
γαῖ' Ἀσὶς ἐκκενουμένα.
Ξέρξης μὲν ἄγαγεν, ποποῖ,
Ξέρξης δ' ἀπώλεσεν, τοτοῖ,
Ξέρξης δὲ πάντ' ἐπέσπε δυσφρόνως
βαρίδες τε πόντιαι.
τίπτε Δαρεῖος μὲν οὕ-
τω τότ' ἀβλαβὴς ἐπῆν
τόξαρχος πολιήταις,
Σουσίδος φίλος ἄκτωρ;

ἀντ. α πεζούς τε καὶ θαλασσίους
ὁμόπτεροι κυανώπιδες
ναῦες μὲν ἄγαγον, ποποῖ,
ναῦες δ' ἀπώλεσαν, τοτοῖ,
ναῦες πανωλέθροισιν ἐμβολαῖς,
διὰ δ' Ἰαόνων χέρας.
τυτθὰ δ' ἐκφυγεῖν ἄνακτ'
αὐτόν, ὡς ἀκούομεν,

548 γὰρ *x*: γὰρ δὴ M I *b k*.
548 δὴ Sommerstein: μὲν (from 550) codd.
549 Ἀσὶς Blomfield: Ἀσίας codd. 553 βαρίδες τε M *k* (βαρίδες Σ^{M}): βαρίδεσι τε I: βαρίδεσσι *b k* Σ^{Φ}.
553 πόντιαι vel sim. M *k*: ποντίαις I *b k*.
554 τίπτε *b*(?) *x*: τίποτε M I *b k*.
556 πολιήταις *z*: πολήταις M: πολίταις I *b k*.
557 Σουσίδος M^{sscr} *b k*.: Σουσίδες M: Σουσίδαις vel sim. I *b* Σ^{Φ}. 558 τε *b* (?) *k*: γὰρ *k* (?) *x*: τε γὰρ M I *b k*.
559 ὁμόπτεροι Brunck: αἱ δ' ὁμόπτεροι (ὡμο- *b'*) codd.

For now all, yes all, the emptied land
of Asia groans:
Xerxes took them—popoi!
Xerxes lost them—totoi!
Xerxes handled everything unwisely,
he and his sea-boats.
Why did Darius for his part
do so little harm[85] when he was the bowmaster
who ruled over the citizenry,
the dear leader of Susiana?

Land-soldiers and seamen—
the dark-faced,[86] equal-winged[87]
ships brought them—popoi!—
ships destroyed them—totoi!—
ships, with ruinous ramming,
and driven by Ionian hands!
And the King himself,
so we hear, barely escaped,

[85] sc. in comparison to Xerxes; compare Darius' own words at 780–1.

[86] The ship's "face" is her prow (cf. the Homeric formula *νεὸς κυανοπρῴροιο*—and, for the metaphor, the "crimson-cheeked ships" of *Odyssey* 11.124 and, in reverse, *καλλίπρῳρος* "fair-faced", used of Parthenopaeus in *Seven* 533 and of Iphigeneia in *Ag.* 235), possibly with allusion to the eyes so often painted on ships' bows.

[87] The ship's "wings" are her banks of oars (cf. *Odyssey* 11.125) which are, of course, equal on each side.

Θρήκης ἂμ πεδιήρεις
δυσχίμους τε κελεύθους.

στρ. β τοὶ δ' ἄρα πρωτομόροιο, φεῦ,
λῃφθέντες πρὸς ἀνάγκας, ἠέ,
570 ἀκτὰς ἀμφὶ Κυχρείας, ὀᾶ,
ἔρραινται. στένε καὶ δακνά-
ζου, βαρὺ δ' ἀμβόασον
οὐράνι' ἄχη, ὀᾶ,
τεῖνε δὲ δυσβάυκτον
575 βοᾶτιν τάλαιναν αὐδάν.

ἀντ. β κναπτόμενοι δ' ἁλὶ δεινά, φεῦ,
σκύλλονται πρὸς ἀναύδων, ἠέ,
παίδων τᾶς ἀμιάντου, ὀᾶ.
πενθεῖ δ' ἄνδρα δόμος στερη-
580 θείς, τοκέες δ' ἄπαιδες

567 δυσχίμους Arnaldus: δυσχειμέρους vel sim. codd.

568–9 πρωτομόροιο . . . ἀνάγκας Blomfield: πρωτόμοροι . . . ἀνάγκαν vel sim. codd.

571 ἔρραινται (Page: ἔρρανται *b* Σ^{Φ}, ἔρανται *b k*, ἔρραται I *b*, ἄρρανται *k*, αἴρανται *k*, ἔρραντε *b* (?), ἔραντε *b*, ἐρα M) placed here by Hermann: in codd. it follows ἄπαιδες (580).

576 κναπτόμενοι Bothe: γναπτόμενοι M *b k* Σ^{Φ}: γναμπτόμενοι I *b k*.

576 δεινὰ M *b k*: δεινᾷ vel sim. I *b k* Σ^{Φ}.

580 see on 571.

over the wide plains
and wintry tracks of Thrace.

But those who were seized—pheu!—
by Necessity and made to die first—ehhh-e![88]—
now lie smashed—o-aaah!—
around the shores of Cychreus' island.[89] Groan
and bite your lips, and utter a deep cry
of towering woe—o-aaah!—
a terrible, long-drawn-out howl,
a screaming voice of sorrow.

Terribly lacerated by the sea—pheu!—
they are being savaged by the voiceless children—ehhh-
e!—
of the Undefiled[90]—o-aaah!
Bereaved houses mourn their men,
and aged parents,

88 This is a long wail, a prolonged vowel [ɛ:] followed by a shorter, slightly closer vowel [e].

89 Cychreus was a Salaminian hero ([Hesiod] fr. 226; Pherecydes fr. 60 Fowler; Diodorus Siculus 4.72.4–7; [Apollodorus], *Library* 3.12.7; Plutarch, *Theseus* 10.3, *Solon* 9.1). He was linked mythically to the family of Telamon and Ajax by being said to have died leaving a daughter who became either the mother or the wife of Telamon. During the battle of Salamis he appeared to the Athenians in the form of a serpent (Pausanias 1.36.1). Sophocles (fr. 579) refers to a "Cychrean rock" on the island.

90 The "Undefiled" is the sea, which washes away all ritual pollution and can never become polluted itself; cf. Euripides, *Iphigeneia in Tauris* 1193, and see R. Parker, *Miasma* (Oxford, 1983) 226–7. Its "children" are the fish.

δαιμόνι᾽ ἄχη, ὀᾶ,
δυρόμενοι γέροντες
τὸ πᾶν δὴ κλύουσιν ἄλγος.

στρ. γ τοι δ᾽ ἀνὰ γᾶν Ἀσίαν δὴν
οὐκέτι περσονομοῦνται,
οὐδ᾽ ἔτι δασμοφοροῦσι
δεσποσύνοισιν ἀνάγκαις,
οὐδ᾽ εἰς γᾶν προπίτνοντες
ἄζονται· βασιλεία
γὰρ διόλωλεν ἰσχύς.

ἀντ. γ οὐδ᾽ ἔτι γλῶσσα βροτοῖσιν
ἐν φυλακαῖς· λέλυται γὰρ
λαὸς ἐλεύθερα βάζειν,
ὡς ἐλύθη ζυγὸν ἀλκᾶς.
αἱμαχθεῖσα δ᾽ ἄρουραν
Αἴαντος περικλύστα
νᾶσος ἔχει τὰ Περσᾶν.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ

φίλοι, κακῶν μὲν ὅστις ἔμπειρος κυρεῖ,
ἐπίσταται βροτοῖσιν ὡς ὅταν κλύδων
κακῶν ἐπέλθῃ, πάντα δειμαίνειν φιλεῖ,
ὅταν δ᾽ ὁ δαίμων εὐροῇ, πεποιθέναι

588 οὐδ᾽ Heath: οὔτ᾽ codd.
588 προ- *k*: προσ- M I *b k*.
589 ἄζονται Halm: ἄρξονται codd.

now childless—o-aaah!—
lament their god-sent woes
as they hear the news that brings ultimate pain.

Not long now will those in the land of Asia
remain under Persian rule,
nor continue to pay tribute
under the compulsion of their lords,
nor fall on their faces to the ground
in awed obeisance; for the strength of the monarchy
has utterly vanished.

Nor do men any longer keep their tongue
under guard; for the people
have been let loose to speak with freedom,
now the yoke of military force no longer binds them.
In its blood-soaked soil
the sea-washed isle of Ajax
holds the power of Persia.

[*The* QUEEN *returns, plainly dressed, on foot, and alone, herself carrying offerings in a tray or basket.*]

QUEEN

My friends, anyone who has experience of misfortune knows that in human affairs, when one is assailed by a surge of troubles, one is apt to be afraid of anything; whereas when divine favour is flowing your way, you tend

595 ἄρουραν Porson: ἄρουρα codd.
598 ἔμπειρος *b*: ἔμπορος M I *b k* Σ^{Φ}.

τὸν αὐτὸν αἰὲν ἄνεμον οὐριεῖν τύχης.
ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἤδη πάντα μὲν φόβου πλέα·
ἐν ὄμμασίν τ᾽ ἀνταῖα φαίνεται θεῶν
βοᾷ τ᾽ ἐν ὠσὶ κέλαδος οὐ παιώνιος·
τοία κακῶν ἔκπληξις ἐκφοβεῖ φρένας.
τοιγὰρ κέλευθον τήνδ᾽ ἄνευ τ᾽ ὀχημάτων
χλιδῆς τε τῆς πάροιθεν ἐκ δόμων πάλιν
ἔστειλα, παιδὸς πατρὶ πρευμενεῖς χοὰς
φέρουσ᾽, ἅπερ νεκροῖσι μειλικτήρια,
βοός τ᾽ ἀφ᾽ ἁγνῆς λευκὸν εὔποτον γάλα,
τῆς τ᾽ ἀνθεμουργοῦ στάγμα, παμφαὲς μέλι,
λιβάσιν ὑδρηλαῖς παρθένου πηγῆς μέτα,
ἀκήρατόν τε μητρὸς ἀγρίας ἄπο
ποτόν, παλαιᾶς ἀμπέλου γάνος τόδε·
τῆς τ᾽ αἰὲν ἐν φύλλοισι θαλλούσης βίον
ξανθῆς ἐλαίας καρπὸς εὐώδης πάρα,
ἄνθη τε πλεκτά, παμφόρου Γαίας τέκνα.
ἀλλ᾽, ὦ φίλοι, χοαῖσι ταῖσδε νερτέρων
ὕμνους ἐπευφημεῖτε, τόν τε δαίμονα
Δαρεῖον ἀνακαλεῖσθε· γαπότους δ᾽ ἐγὼ
τιμὰς προπέμψω τάσδε νερτέροις θεοῖς.

602 *αἰὲν ἄνεμον* Weil: *αἰεὶ δαίμον᾽* vel sim. codd.
605 *τ᾽* Weil: *δ᾽* codd.

to be sure that the breeze of good fortune will always continue to blow from astern. So for me now, everything is full of fear: before my eyes there appear hostile visions from the gods, and in my ears there resounds a din that is not a song of cheer—such is the stunning effect of these misfortunes that terrifies my mind. That is why I have retraced my path, coming back from my house without my carriage and without my former luxury, bringing propitiatory drink-offerings for the father of my child, such as serve to soothe the dead: white milk, good to drink, from a pure[91] cow; the distilled product of the flower-worker,[92] gleaming honey, together with a libation of water from a virgin spring; a drink that has come unsullied from its wild-growing mother, this juice of an old vine; and also here are the sweet-smelling produce of the tree whose foliage never ceases to live and flourish, the blond olive-tree,[93] and a woven garland of flowers, the children of Earth the bearer of all life.[94] Now, friends, accompany these drink-offerings to the nether powers with auspicious songs, and call up the divine Darius; meanwhile I will send these honours on their way to the gods below, by letting the earth drink them up.

[91] i.e. (probably) never yoked (cf. Bacchylides 11.105, 16.20).

[92] i.e. of the bee.

[93] Cf. Pindar, *Olympian* 11.13 and *Nemean* 1.17, where olive leaves are called "golden". The "sweet-smelling produce" of the tree will be its oil rather than its actual fruit.

[94] As Hall has noted, every one of the six components of the offering is specified as coming from a feminine source—the cow, the bee (*μέλισσα*), the "virgin" spring, the "mother" vine, the olive-tree (*ἐλαία*), and Mother Earth.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

βασίλεια γύναι, πρέσβος Πέρσαις,
σύ τε πέμπε χοὰς θαλάμους ὕπο γῆς,
ἡμεῖς θ' ὕμνοις αἰτησόμεθα
φθιμένων πομπούς
εὔφρονας εἶναι κατὰ γαίας.
ἀλλά, χθόνιοι δαίμονες ἀγνοί,
Γῆ τε καὶ Ἑρμῆ βασιλεῦ τ' ἐνέρων,
πέμψατ' ἔνερθεν ψυχὴν εἰς φῶς·
εἰ γάρ τι κακῶν ἄκος οἶδε πλέον,
μόνος ἂν θνητῶν πέρας εἴποι.

στρ. α ἦ ῥ' ἀίει μοι μακαρίτας ἰσοδαίμων βασιλεὺς
βάρβαρα σαφηνῆ
ἰέντος τὰ παναίολ' αἰ-
ανῆ δύσθροα βάγματα;
παντάλαν' ἄχη
διαβοάσω·
νέρθεν ἆρα κλύει μου;

ἀντ. α ἀλλὰ σύ μοι, Γᾶ τε καὶ ἄλλοι χθονίων ἀγεμόνες,

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95 Hades/Aidoneus/Pluto (who will be addressed by name at 650).

96 A slightly illogical statement, resulting from an attempt to say two things at once: (1) Darius, unlike any living mortal, may have the knowledge that will *enable* him to tell the Persians the right course to follow; (2) if he does have such knowledge, Darius will surely be *willing* to impart it.

CHORUS

Royal lady, first in honour among the Persians,
while you send the drink-offerings down to earth's inner
chambers,
we in song will beseech
those with power to send up the dead
to be kind to us in their home beneath the earth.

[*During the rest of this chant and song by the* CHORUS, *the* QUEEN *is pouring the drink-offerings at Darius' tomb, with appropriate ritual actions.*]

Now, you holy divinities of the underworld,
Earth and Hermes and you, King of the Shades,[95]
send that soul up from below into the light;
for if he knows any further remedy for our troubles,
he, alone of mortals, will tell us how to end them.[96]

Does he hearken to me—the blessed King, equal to a
god—
as I send forth clearly in Eastern speech
my variegated, grief-laden,
cries that tell of woe?
Let me try to reach him, voicing loudly
our wretched sufferings:
does he hear me from below?

I pray you, Earth and you other rulers of the
underworld,

δαίμονα μεγαυχῆ
ἰόντ᾽ αἰνέσατ᾽ ἐκ δόμων,
Περσᾶν Σουσιγενῆ θεόν,
πέμπετε δ᾽ ἄνω,
οἷον οὔπω
Περσὶς αἶ᾽ ἐκάλυψεν.

στρ. β ἦ φίλος ἀνήρ, φίλος ὄχθος·
φίλα γὰρ κέκευθεν ἤθη.
Ἀϊδωνεὺς δ᾽ ἀναπομπὸς ἀνείη, Ἀϊδωνεύς,
θεῖον ἀνάκτορα Δαριᾶνα· ἠέ.

ἀντ. β οὔτε γὰρ ἄνδρας ποτ᾽ ἀπώλλυ
πολεμοφθόροισιν ἄταις,
θεομήστωρ δ᾽ ἐκικλῄσκετο Πέρσαις, θεομήστωρ
δ᾽ ἔσκεν, ἐπεὶ στρατὸν †εὖ ἐποδώκει†· ἠέ.

642 μεγαυχῆ *k*: μεγαλαυχῆ vel sim. M I *b k*.
647 φίλος ὄχθος *b*: ἦ φίλος ὄχθος M I *b k*.
650 ἀνειη (sic) M: ἂν εἴη M^s *k* γρΣ^I: ἀνίη I *b* Σ^Φ: ἀνία *k*: ἀνίησ᾽ *b*: ἀνίει *b k*.
651 (at start of line) Δαρεῖον codd.: del. Dindorf.
651 θεῖον Schütz: οἷον codd.: οἷον ^{i}Σ^M.
651 ἀνακτορα Δαριᾶνα Dindorf: ἄνακτα Δαρειὰν vel sim. codd.
656 εὖ (om. M^{ac} *b*′) ἐποδώκει (ὑπεδώκει M^{ac}, ἐπεδώκει *b*′ *k*′(?)) codd. Σ(i)^Φ: ὑπὸ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πόδα ἠνιόχει Σ^M Σ(ii)^Φ: εὖ ποδούχει Dindorf: ηὐοδώκει West.

consent to this proud divine being
emerging from your abode—
the Persians' god, born in Susa—
and send him up here,
one like no other
whom Persian soil has ever covered.

Truly we love the man, we love the mound;
for it conceals a man of lovable character.
May Aidoneus release him and send him up, Aidoneus—
the godlike ruler Darian![97] Ehhh-e!

For he was never one to lose many men
by disastrous slaughters in war;
the Persians called him "divine counsellor", and a divine
counsellor
he was, for he guided[98] the people well. Ehhh-e!

[*During the next two stanzas the* CHORUS *are on their knees, beating and furrowing the ground with their hands.*]

[97] Since this form of the king's name is no closer than the regular Greek form Δαρεῖος to the Persian *Dārayavahuš*, it may be based on the form used in some third language (of Asia Minor?); at any rate Aeschylus, in using it here and below (663, 671), is clearly seeking to give the invocation a particularly exotic air.

[98] The verb is corrupt beyond confident restoration (and the scholiast's paraphrase, "drove [as a charioteer] under his own foot", may be only an attempt to wring sense out of the transmitted word), but this must be approximately its meaning.

στρ. γ βαλλήν, ἀρχαῖος βαλλήν, ἴθι, ἰκοῦ·
ἔλθ' ἐπ' ἄκρον κόρυμβον ὄχθου,
κροκόβαπτον ποδὸς εὔμαριν ἀείρων,
βασιλείου τιήρας φάλαρον πιφαύσκων.
βάσκε, πάτερ ἄκακε Δαριάν· οἴ·

ἀντ. γ ὅπως αἰνά τε κλύῃς νέα τ' ἄχη·
δέσποτα, δέσποτ', ὦ φάνηθι.
Στυγία γάρ τις ἐπ' ἀχλὺς πεπόταται·
νεολαία γὰρ ἤδη κατὰ πᾶσ' ὄλωλεν.
βάσκε, πάτερ ἄκακε Δαριάν· οἴ.

ἐπῳδ. αἰαῖ αἰαῖ·
ὦ πολύκλαυτε φίλοισι θανών,
τί τάδε, τί τάδε, δυνάτα, δυνάτα,
†περὶ τᾷ σᾷ† δίδυμα διαγόεδν' ἁμάρτια;
πᾶσαι γὰρ γᾷ τᾷδ' ἐξέφθινται τρίσκαλμοι
νᾶες ἄναες ἄναες.

665 αἰνά Viketos (γ' αἰνά Pauw): καινά codd.
667 δέσποτ' ὦ Enger: δεσπότου codd.
675 τί τάδε τί τάδε West: τί τάδε codd.
676 περὶ τᾷ σᾷ vel sim. codd. (περὶ τ*ῖσ*ῖ M^{ac}): περισσὰ Bothe: περίπεσε West.
677 διαγόεδν' G.C.W. Schneider: διαγόενδ' M^{s}: διαγόεν M: διὰ γόενθ' γρI: διάγοιε(ν) δ' (δ' om. *b' k'*) I *b k*.
678 γὰρ γᾷ Dindorf: γᾷ vel sim. codd.

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99 This appears to be a Phrygian word for "king" ([Plutarch], *On Rivers* 12.3–4); in Sophocles' *Shepherds*, whose scene was

Ballên, our ancient *ballên,*[99] come, come to us!
Come to the very summit of your tomb-mound,
lifting up your feet in their saffron-dyed slippers,
revealing the peak of your royal hat:[100]
come hither, father Darian who never harmed us—oi!—

so that you may hear of terrible recent sorrows.
Master, master, show yourself!
A cloud of Stygian gloom hovers over us,
for now all of our young men have perished!
Come hither, father Darian who never harmed us—oi!

[*The* CHORUS *rise to their feet.*]

Aiai, aiai!
You whose death was so much bewailed by those who
loved you,
our lord, our lord, what does it mean, what does it mean,
this ever-to-be-lamented twin failure[101] that has befallen
us?
All the triple-oared ships[102] this land possessed have
vanished away—
they are ships no more, ships no more!

[*The* GHOST OF DARIUS *appears above his tomb.*]

Troy, the chorus use it in addressing (presumably) Priam (Sophocles fr. 515).

100 The Persian noble's headgear (τιάρα or κυρβασία) was a soft felt hat; the King wore a taller, stiffened, peaked version.

101 The loss of the fleet and of the land army; cf. 719–720, 728.

102 lit. "ships with three ‹sets of thole-pins", i.e. triremes.

ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ ΔΑΡΕΙΟΥ

ὦ πιστὰ πιστῶν ἥλικές θ' ἥβης ἐμῆς,
Πέρσαι γεραιοί, τίνα πόλις πονεῖ πόνον;
στένει, κέκοπται, καὶ χαράσσεται πέδον.
λεύσσων δ' ἄκοιτιν τὴν ἐμὴν τάφου πέλας
ταρβῶ· χοὰς δὲ πρευμενὴς ἐδεξάμην·
ὑμεῖς δὲ θρηνεῖτ' ἐγγὺς ἑστῶτες τάφου,
καὶ ψυχαγωγοῖς ὀρθιάζοντες γόοις
οἰκτρῶς καλεῖσθέ μ'. ἔστι δ' οὐκ εὐέξοδον,
ἄλλως τε πάντως χοὶ κατὰ χθονὸς θεοὶ
λαβεῖν ἀμείνους εἰσὶν ἢ μεθιέναι·
ὅμως δ' ἐκείνοις ἐνδυναστεύσας ἐγὼ
ἥκω. τάχυνε δ', ὡς ἄμεμπτος ὦ χρόνου·
τί ἐστι Πέρσαις νεοχμὸν ἐμβριθὲς κακόν;

ΧΟΡΟΣ

στρ. σέβομαι μὲν προσιδέσθαι,
σέβομαι δ' ἀντία λέξαι
σέθεν ἀρχαίῳ περὶ τάρβει.

ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ ΔΑΡΕΙΟΥ

ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ κάτωθεν ἦλθον σοῖς γόοις πεπεισμένος,
μή τι μακιστῆρα μῦθον, ἀλλὰ σύντομον λέγων
εἰπὲ καὶ πέραινε πάντα, τὴν ἐμὴν αἰδῶ μεθείς.

687 ὀρθιάζοντες *x z*: ὀρθρίζοντες *x*: ῥοθιάζοντες M I *b k*.

GHOST OF DARIUS

Trusted of the trusted, contemporaries of my youth, elders of Persia, what distress is our state suffering? The earth is groaning, having been beaten and furrowed; the sight of my wife close by my tomb causes me fear,[103] though I have gladly accepted her drink-offerings; and you are standing round my tomb singing songs of grief, lifting up your voices in wailing to summon my spirit, and calling on me in piteous tones. It has not been easy to gain egress; apart from anything else, the gods below the earth are better at taking people in than at letting them go; nevertheless, holding as I do a position of power among them, I have come here. But be speedy, so that I am not blamed for the time I have taken: what is the heavy recent disaster that has happened to Persia?

[*The* CHORUS *prostrate themselves.*]

CHORUS

I am too awed to look upon you,
I am too awed to speak before you,
because I feared you of old.

GHOST OF DARIUS

But since it is your laments that have induced me to come up from below, speak now, not in long-winded words but putting it concisely and covering everything, setting your awe of me aside.

[103] Presumably we are meant to understand that the presence at the tomb of the Queen *and* the Elders suggests to Darius that whatever disaster has happened involves both the state as a whole and one or more of his own children.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἀντ. δίομαι μὲν χαρίσασθαι,
δίομαι δ' ἀντία φάσθαι,
λέξας δύσλεκτα φίλοισιν.

ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ ΔΑΡΕΙΟΥ

ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ δέος παλαιὸν σοὶ φρενῶν ἀνθίσταται,
τῶν ἐμῶν λέκτρων γεραιὰ ξύννομ', εὐγενὲς δάμαρ,
κλαυμάτων λήξασα τῶνδε καὶ γόων σαφές τί μοι
λέξον. ἀνθρώπεια δ' ἄν τοι πήματ' ἂν τύχοι
βροτοῖς·
πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ θαλάσσης, πολλὰ δ' ἐκ χέρσου
κακὰ
γίγνεται θνητοῖς, ὁ μάσσων βίοτος ἢν ταθῇ πρόσω.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ

ὦ βροτῶν πάντων ὑπερσχὼν ὄλβον εὐτυχεῖ πότμῳ,
ὡς ἕως τ' ἔλευσσες αὐγὰς ἡλίου ζηλωτὸς ὢν
βίοτον εὐαίωνα Πέρσαις ὡς θεὸς διήγαγες,
νῦν τέ σε ζηλῶ θανόντα πρὶν κακῶν ἰδεῖν βάθος.
πάντα γάρ, Δαρεῖ', ἀκούσῃ μῦθον ἐν βραχεῖ χρόνῳ·
διαπεπόρθηται τὰ Περσῶν πράγμαθ', ὡς εἰπεῖν
ἔπος.

ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ ΔΑΡΕΙΟΥ

τίνι τρόπῳ; λοιμοῦ τις ἦλθε σκηπτός, ἢ στάσις
πόλει;

700, 701 δίομαι *k* (and *b'* in 700): δείομαι M I *b k*.
704 δάμαρ I: γύναι M *b k*.

CHORUS [*rising again to their feet*]

I am afraid to gratify your wish,
I am afraid to speak plainly,
saying things that are hard to say to a friend.

GHOST OF DARIUS

Well, since your old fear is standing guard over your mind—[*turning to the* QUEEN, *who seems wrapped up in her grief*] I ask you, my noble wife, old companion of my bed, to end this crying and wailing and speak plainly to me. Human beings, you know, are bound to experience human sufferings; there are many evils that befall mortals, both by sea and by land,[104] if their life is prolonged to a great span.

QUEEN

You whose fortunate fate surpassed all mortals in bliss, how enviable you were when you saw the light of the sun and led a life of such happiness that Persians looked on you as a god! And now too I envy you, because you died before seeing the depths of our present suffering. It will take you very little time, Darius, to hear the whole story: to all intents and purposes, the fortunes of Persia are utterly ruined.

GHOST OF DARIUS

How has it happened? Has our state been stricken by a virulent plague,[105] or by civil strife?

104 Probably a reminiscence of Hesiod, *Works and Days* 101 ("The earth is full of evils, and so is the sea").

105 lit. "a thunderbolt of plague".

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709 πότμῳ I^{ac} *b k*: πότμον M I^{pc} *b k*.
714 εἰπεῖν ἔπος *k*: ἔπος εἰπεῖν M I *b*.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ

οὐδαμῶς, ἀλλ' ἀμφ' Ἀθήνας πᾶς κατέφθαρται στρατός.

ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ ΔΑΡΕΙΟΥ

τίς δ' ἐμῶν ἐκεῖσε παίδων ἐστρατηλάτει; φράσον.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ

θούριος Ξέρξης, κενώσας πᾶσαν ἠπείρου πλάκα.

ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ ΔΑΡΕΙΟΥ

πεζὸς ἢ ναύτης δὲ πεῖραν τήνδ' ἐμώρανεν τάλας;

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ

720 ἀμφότερα· διπλοῦν μέτωπον ἦν δυοῖν στρατευμάτοιν.

ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ ΔΑΡΕΙΟΥ

πῶς δὲ καὶ στρατὸς τοσόσδε πεζὸς ἤνυσεν περᾶν;

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ

μηχαναῖς ἔζευξεν Ἕλλης πορθμόν, ὥστ' ἔχειν πόρον.

ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ ΔΑΡΕΙΟΥ

καὶ τόδ' ἐξέπραξεν, ὥστε Βόσπορον κλῆσαι μέγαν;

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ

ὧδ' ἔχει· γνώμης δέ πού τις δαιμόνων ξυνήψατο.

720 στρατευμάτοιν *k*: στρατηλάτοιν (-αιν *b'*) M I *b*.

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106 In poetry, the Hellespont is sometimes referred to as the Bosporus (746; Sophocles, *Ajax* 884; Sophocles fr. 503), a name

QUEEN

Not at all; what has happened is that our entire army has been destroyed in the region of Athens.

GHOST OF DARIUS

And tell me, which of my sons led the army there?

QUEEN

The bold Xerxes; he emptied the whole expanse of the continent.

GHOST OF DARIUS

And did the wretched boy make this foolish attempt by land or by sea?

QUEEN

Both; it was a double front composed of two forces.

GHOST OF DARIUS

And how did a land army of that size manage to get across the water?

QUEEN

He contrived means to yoke the strait of Helle, so as to create a pathway.

GHOST OF DARIUS

He actually carried that out, so as to close up the mighty Bosporus?[106]

QUEEN

It is true. Some divinity must have touched his wits.

which properly, then as now, belonged to the other strait separating Europe from Asia, at Byzantium/Calchedon, some 150 miles (240 km) to the north-east.

ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ ΔΑΡΕΙΟΥ

φεῦ, μέγας τις ἦλθε δαίμων, ὥστε μὴ φρονεῖν καλῶς.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ

ὡς ἰδεῖν τέλος πάρεστιν οἷον ἤνυσεν κακόν.

ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ ΔΑΡΕΙΟΥ

καὶ τί δὴ πράξασιν αὐτοῖς ὧδ' ἐπιστενάζετε;

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ

ναυτικὸς στρατὸς κακωθεὶς πεζὸν ὤλεσε στρατόν.

ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ ΔΑΡΕΙΟΥ

ὧδε παμπήδην δὲ λαὸς πᾶς κατέφθαρται δορί;

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ

πρὸς τάδ' ὡς Σούσων μὲν ἄστυ πᾶν κενανδρίᾳ στένει—

ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ ΔΑΡΕΙΟΥ

ὦ πόποι κεδνῆς ἀρωγῆς κἀπικουρίας στρατοῦ.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ

Βακτρίων δ' ἔρρει πανώλης δῆμος, οὐδέ τις †γέρων†.

732 γέρων codd.: πέρι Gomperz: perh. περᾷ (cf. 799: περᾶν Wecklein).

GHOST OF DARIUS

Ah, it was a powerful divinity that came upon him, to put him out of his right mind!

QUEEN

Yes, one can see by the outcome what a disaster he managed to create.

GHOST OF DARIUS

And what in fact was the outcome for them over which you are grieving so?

QUEEN

The naval force was savaged, and that doomed the land army to destruction.

GHOST OF DARIUS

Was the whole host so utterly and completely destroyed by the spear?[107]

QUEEN

So that on account of this, the whole city of Susa is grieving because it is empty of men—

GHOST OF DARIUS

Ah me, our army, our valiant aid and protector!

QUEEN

And the whole community of the Bactrians is perished and gone, with not one survivor.[108]

[107] Apparently Darius mistakenly supposes that the land army was destroyed *in battle.*

[108] This must have been the approximate sense; the transmitted reading, which means "nor ‹is there a single old man", is absurd, since it was the *young* who perished in the war.

ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ ΔΑΡΕΙΟΥ

ὦ μέλεος, οἵαν ἆρ' ἦβην ξυμμάχων ἀπώλεσεν.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ

μονάδα δὲ Ξέρξην ἔρημόν φασιν οὐ πολλῶν μέτα—

ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ ΔΑΡΕΙΟΥ

πῶς τε δὴ καὶ ποῖ τελευτᾶν; ἔστι τις σωτηρία;

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ

ἄσμενον μολεῖν γέφυραν γαῖν δυοῖν ζευκτηρίαν.

ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ ΔΑΡΕΙΟΥ

καὶ πρὸς ἤπειρον σεσῶσθαι τήνδε; τοῦτ' ἐτήτυμον;

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ

ναί, λόγος κρατεῖ σαφηνὴς τοῦτό γ'· οὐκ ἔνι στάσις.

ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ ΔΑΡΕΙΟΥ

φεῦ, τάχειά γ' ἦλθε χρησμῶν πρᾶξις, εἰς δὲ παῖδ' ἐμὸν
Ζεὺς ἀπέσκηψεν τελευτὴν θεσφάτων· ἐγὼ δέ που
διὰ μακροῦ χρόνου τάδ' ηὔχουν ἐκτελευτήσειν θεούς·
ἀλλ', ὅταν σπεύδῃ τις αὐτός, χὠ θεὸς συνάπτεται.
νῦν κακῶν ἔοικε πηγὴ πᾶσιν ηὑρῆσθαι φίλοις·
παῖς δ' ἐμὸς τάδ' οὐ κατειδὼς ἤνυσεν νέῳ θράσει,
ὅστις Ἑλλήσποντον ἱρὸν δοῦλον ὡς δεσμώμασιν
ἤλπισε σχήσειν ῥέοντα, Βόσπορον ῥόον θεοῦ,

736 γαῖν Askew, cf. Σ^{M} ὃς ζεύγνυσιν Ἀσίαν καὶ Εὐρώπην: ἐν codd.

GHOST OF DARIUS

Poor fellow, what young manhood of our allies he has lost!

QUEEN

And Xerxes himself, they say, alone and forlorn, with only a few men—

GHOST OF DARIUS

How did he finish up, and where? Is there any chance of his being safe?

QUEEN

—has arrived, to his relief, at the bridge that joins the two lands together.

GHOST OF DARIUS

And has come safe back to our continent? Is that really true?

QUEEN

Yes, that is the prevalent and definite report; there is no dispute about it.

GHOST OF DARIUS

Ah, how swiftly the oracles have come true! Zeus has launched the fulfilment of the prophecies against my son. I used to think confidently, "I suppose the gods will fulfil them in some distant future"; but when a man is in a hurry himself, the god will lend him a hand. Now, it seems, there has been discovered a fountain of sorrow for all who are dear to me—and it is my son, by his youthful rashness, who has achieved this without knowing what he was doing. He thought he could stop the flow of the Hellespont, the divine stream[109] of the Bosporus, by putting chains on it, as if

109 lit. "stream of a god", the god being Poseidon (750).

καὶ πόρον μετερρύθμιζε, καὶ πέδαις σφυρηλάτοις
περιβαλὼν πολλὴν κέλευθον ἤνυσεν πολλῷ στρατῷ·
θνητὸς ὢν δὲ θεῶν τε πάντων ᾤετ', οὐκ εὐβουλίᾳ,
καὶ Ποσειδῶνος κρατήσειν. πῶς τάδ' οὐ νόσος φρενῶν
εἶχε παῖδ' ἐμόν; δέδοικα μὴ πολὺς πλούτου πόνος
οὑμὸς ἀντραπεὶς γένηται τοῦ φθάσαντος ἁρπαγή.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ

ταῦτά τοι κακοῖς ὁμιλῶν ἀνδράσιν διδάσκεται
θούριος Ξέρξης· λέγουσι δ' ὡς σὺ μὲν μέγαν τέκνοις
πλοῦτον ἐκτήσω σὺν αἰχμῇ, τὸν δ' ἀνανδρίας ὕπο
ἔνδον αἰχμάζειν, πατρῷον δ' ὄλβον οὐδὲν αὐξάνειν·
τοιάδ' ἐξ ἀνδρῶν ὀνείδη πολλάκις κλύων κακῶν
τήνδ' ἐβούλευσεν κέλευθον καὶ στράτευμ' ἐφ' Ἑλλάδα.

ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ ΔΑΡΕΙΟΥ

τοιγάρ σφιν ἔργον ἐστὶν ἐξειργασμένον
μέγιστον, αἰείμνηστον, οἷον οὐδέπω
τόδ' ἄστυ Σούσων ἐξεκείνωσ' ἐμπεσόν,
ἐξ οὔτε τιμὴν Ζεὺς ἄναξ τήνδ' ὤπασεν,
ἔν' ἄνδρ' ἀπάσης Ἀσίδος μηλοτρόφου
ταγεῖν ἔχοντα σκῆπτρον εὐθυντήριον.

749 δὲ *θεῶν τε* Doederlein: *θεῶν τε k*: *θεῶν* δὲ M I *b k*.
752 ἀντραπεὶς Zakas, cf. 163: ἀνθρώποις codd.
753 *τοι* Dindorf: *τοῖς* codd.
761 ἐξεκείνωσ' ἐμπεσόν Pauw: ἐξεκείνωσεν *πεσόν* codd.

it were a slave; he altered the nature of its passage,[110] put hammered fetters upon it, and created a great pathway for a great army. He thought, ill-counselled as he was, that he, a mortal, could lord it over all the gods and over Poseidon. Surely this was a mental disease that had my son in its grip! I am afraid that the great wealth I gained by my labours may be overturned and become the booty of the first comer.

QUEEN

The rash Xerxes, I should tell you, was taught this way of thinking by associating with wicked men. They said that whereas you had acquired great wealth for your children by warfare, he, from unmanliness, was being a stay-at-home warrior and doing nothing to increase the riches he had inherited. It was because he had heard taunts like that, over and over again, from these wicked men, that he planned this military expedition against Greece.

GHOST OF DARIUS

And so he has completed an immense, never-to-be-forgotten achievement; nothing else that has befallen this city of Susa has ever emptied it like this, since Lord Zeus first granted us this honour, that one man should be supreme over the whole of sheep-rearing Asia, wielding the sceptre

110 i.e. he stopped up a sea-passage and created a land-passage instead.

765 Μῆδος γὰρ ἦν ὁ πρῶτος ἡγεμὼν στρατοῦ,
766 ἄλλος δ' ἐκείνου παῖς τόδ' ἔργον ἤνυσεν·
768 τρίτος δ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Κῦρος, εὐδαίμων ἀνήρ,
769 ἄρξας ἔθηκε πᾶσιν εἰρήνην φίλοις·
767 φρένες γὰρ αὐτοῦ θυμὸν ᾠακοστρόφουν·
770 Λυδῶν δὲ λαὸν καὶ Φρυγῶν ἐκτήσατο
Ἰωνίαν τε πᾶσαν ἤλασεν βίᾳ·
θεὸς γὰρ οὐκ ἤχθηρεν, ὡς εὔφρων ἔφυ.
Κύρου δὲ παῖς τέταρτος ηὔθυνε στρατόν·
πέμπτος δὲ Μάρδος ἦρξεν, αἰσχύνη πάτρᾳ
775 θρόνοισί τ' ἀρχαίοισι· τὸν δὲ σὺν δόλῳ
Ἀρταφρένης ἔκτεινεν ἐσθλὸς ἐν δόμοις
777 ξὺν ἀνδράσιν φίλοισιν, οἷς τόδ' ἦν χρέος,
779 κἀγώ· πάλου δ' ἔκυρσα τοὖπερ ἤθελον.

767 transposed by Page to follow 769.
773 ηὔθυνε Brunck: ἤθυνε M^{ac} *k*: ἴθυνε M^{pc} I *b k*.
{778} ἕκτος δὲ Μάραφις (M I^{pc} *b*: Μαράφης, Μάρφις, Μάραφνις I^{ac} *b k*), ἕβδομος (δ' add. *k'*, τ' add. *b'*) Ἀρταφρένης codd.: del. Schütz.

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111 Probably to be taken as the (mythical) eponymous founder of the kingdom of the Medes (cf. on 236). Later tragedians spoke of a Medus, son of Medea and Aegeus, as the ancestor of the Median people (Diodorus Siculus 4.55.5–56.1; [Apollodorus], *Library* 1.9.28). Alternatively Μῆδος may mean "a Mede", in which case the reference will be to Cyaxares (reigned ca.625–585), the first Median king to extend his rule into Asia Minor; in that case his son will be Astyages, the maternal grandfather of Cyrus, eventually deposed by him.

of directive authority. Medus[111] was the first leader of our host, and his son also achieved this position. The third ruler in the succession from him was Cyrus, a man blessed by the gods, who gave peace to all those he cared for, since his intelligence was in control of[112] his fighting spirit; he gained mastery over the peoples of Lydia and Phrygia, and overran all of Ionia by force. God did not hate him, because he was wise. The son of Cyrus[113] was the fourth to direct the host. The fifth ruler was Mardus,[114] a disgrace to his country and to his ancient throne. He was killed in his palace, by means of a crafty plot, by the admirable Artaphrenes[115] together with some friends who took on this duty and with myself; and I gained by chance the lot I

112 lit. "turned the helm of".

113 This was Cambyses (reigned 529–522), the conqueror of Egypt.

114 In Herodotus (3.61–79) he is called Smerdis and said to be a usurper impersonating Cambyses' brother of the same name (in Persian *Bardiya*); so too Darius himself in the Behistun inscription (§§11–15; translated in M. Brosius, *The Persian Empire from Cyrus II to Artaxerxes I* [London, 2000] 23–24, 27–40) except that he calls the usurper Gaumata.

115 Herodotus (3.70ff) calls this man Intaphrenes, which is considerably closer to the Persian *Vindafarnā*; evidently Aeschylus has confused him with a man much better known to Greeks, Darius' brother, the governor of Sardis at the time of the Ionian revolt (Herodotus 5.25.1 etc.), whose son of the same name had been joint commander of the Persian forces at Marathon.

κἀπεστράτευσα πολλὰ σὺν πολλῷ στρατῷ,
ἀλλ᾽ οὐ κακὸν τοσόνδε προσέβαλον πόλει·
Ξέρξης δ᾽ ἐμὸς παῖς νέος ἔτ᾽ ὢν νέα φρονεῖ,
κοὐ μνημονεύει τὰς ἐμὰς ἐπιστολάς.
εὖ γὰρ σαφῶς τόδ᾽ ἴστ᾽, ἐμοὶ ξυνήλικες·
ἅπαντες ἡμεῖς, οἳ κράτη τάδ᾽ ἔσχομεν,
οὐκ ἂν φανεῖμεν πήματ᾽ ἔρξαντες τόσα.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

τί οὖν, ἄναξ Δαρεῖε; ποῖ καταστρέφεις
λόγων τελευτήν; πῶς ἂν ἐκ τούτων ἔτι
πράσσοιμεν ὡς ἄριστα Περσικὸς λεώς;

ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ ΔΑΡΕΙΟΥ

εἰ μὴ στρατεύοισθ᾽ εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήνων τόπον,
μηδ᾽ εἰ στράτευμα πλεῖον ᾖ τὸ Μηδικόν·
αὐτὴ γὰρ ἡ γῆ ξύμμαχος κείνοις πέλει.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

πῶς τοῦτ᾽ ἔλεξας; τίνι τρόπῳ δὲ συμμαχεῖ;

782 ἔτ᾽ ὢν Martin: ἐὼν M I: ὢν *b k*.

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116 i.e. we (either all the conspirators—so in effect Herodotus 3.84–88—or Darius and Artaphrenes alone) drew lots for the kingship, and I won. If the additional line (778) present in the mss. is retained in the text, the meaning will be: "He was killed . . . by the admirable Artaphrenes, together with some friends who took on this duty; the sixth ‹to rule› was Maraphis, the seventh Artaphrenes and myself; and I gained by chance the lot I desired." The genuineness of the line is defended by M. L. West in M. A. Flower and M. Toher ed. *Georgica: Studies in Honour of George*

desired.[116] And I invaded many lands with great armies, but I never inflicted on my state such harm as this. My son Xerxes, though, is still a young man, thinking young man's thoughts, and he has not kept my instructions in mind. I tell you this plainly, my old contemporaries: take all of us together who have held this kingship, and we will not be found to have caused this much suffering.

CHORUS

What then, lord Darius? To what conclusion do your words lead? After this, how can we, the Persian people, get the best possible outcome for the future?

GHOST OF DARIUS

By not invading the land of the Greeks, not even with a Median army still greater than before! Their country itself fights as their ally.

CHORUS

How do you mean? In what way does it fight as their ally?

Cawkwell (London, 1991) 184–8; but the text in this form gives no indication of who Maraphis was, leaves the nature of the connection between Artaphrenes and Darius completely undefined, makes Darius claim no credit at all for the assassination of the "disgrace" Mardus, and fails to explain why Artaphrenes, having masterminded Mardus' death, did not succeed immediately himself. See W. Kraus, *Wiener Studien* 104 (1991) 90–91. The interpolated line may derive ultimately from a marginal variant (Μάραφις for Μάρδος) on 774, itself based on an apparent statement by the historian Hellanicus (*FGrH* 4 F 180, cited in a scholium on 770) that Cambyses' brothers were named Maraphis and Merphis; if the variant was written at the bottom of a column, below line 777, it could have been mistaken for a remnant of a lost line, and a "restoration" of that line cobbled together.

ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ ΔΑΡΕΙΟΥ

κτείνουσα λιμῷ τοὺς ὑπερπόλλους ἄγαν.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἀλλ' εὐσταλῆ τοι λεκτὸν ἀροῦμεν στόλον.

ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ ΔΑΡΕΙΟΥ

ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὁ μείνας νῦν ἐν Ἑλλάδος τόποις
στρατὸς κυρήσει νοστίμου σωτηρίας.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

πῶς εἶπας; οὐ γὰρ πᾶν στράτευμα βαρβάρων
περᾷ τὸν Ἕλλης πορθμὸν Εὐρώπης ἄπο;

ΕΙΔΩΛΟΝ ΔΑΡΕΙΟΥ

παῦροί γε πολλῶν, εἴ τι πιστεῦσαι θεῶν
χρὴ θεσφάτοισιν, εἰς τὰ νῦν πεπραγμένα
βλέψαντα· συμβαίνει γὰρ οὐ τὰ μέν, τὰ δ' οὔ.
κεἴπερ τάδ' ἐστί, πλῆθος ἐκκριτον στρατοῦ
λείπει κεναῖσιν ἐλπίσιν πεπεισμένος·
μίμνουσι δ' ἔνθα πεδίον Ἀσωπὸς ῥοαῖς
ἄρδει, φίλον πίασμα Βοιωτῶν χθονί·
οὗ σφιν κακῶν ὕψιστ' ἐπαμμένει παθεῖν,
ὕβρεως ἄποινα κἀθέων φρονημάτων·

806 *φίλον* I *b k*: *φίλος* M *γρ*I *b k* ΣΦ.

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117 lit. "for it is not the case that some things come to pass and others do not". Darius' point is that the same oracle which had foretold the naval defeat at Salamis also foretold a crushing defeat on land, soon after, at Plataea. The first part of this oracle had now been fulfilled; therefore the second part would be, too.

GHOST OF DARIUS

By starving to death a multitude that is too vastly numerous.

CHORUS

Well, we'll raise a picked, well-equipped expedition.

GHOST OF DARIUS

No, not even the army that has now been left in the land of Greece will gain a safe return home.

CHORUS

What do you mean? Hasn't the whole of the Eastern army crossed back from Europe over the strait of Helle?

GHOST OF DARIUS

Few out of many, if one is to place any credence in the oracles of the gods, looking at what has now happened—for oracles are not fulfilled by halves.[117] If that is indeed so, Xerxes, seduced by vain hopes, has left behind a large, select portion of his army. They remain where the Asopus[118] waters the plain with its stream, bringing welcome enrichment to the soil of the Boeotians.[119] There the destiny awaits them of suffering a crowning catastrophe, in requital for their outrageous actions and their godless arro-

[118] The principal river of Boeotia, which separates Thebes from Plataea and Mt Cithaeron to the south.

[119] Aeschylus has simplified the course of events. Mardonius' army actually wintered in Thessaly (Herodotus 8.113–135), and in the spring he advanced on Athens, which was captured and later burnt for the second time (Herodotus 9.1–3, 9.13.2); only when it was clear that Athens would not come to terms, and that the Spartans were on the march, did he retreat into Boeotia and prepare to meet the enemy there (Herodotus 9.12–15).

οἳ γῆν μολόντες Ἑλλάδ' οὐ θεῶν βρέτη
ἠδοῦντο συλᾶν οὐδὲ πιμπράναι νεώς·
βωμοὶ δ' ἀιστοι, δαιμόνων θ' ἱδρύματα
πρόρριζα φύρδην ἐξανίσταται βάθρων.
τοιγὰρ κακῶς δράσαντες οὐκ ἐλάσσονα
πάσχουσι, τὰ δὲ μέλλουσι, κοὐδέπω κακῶν
κρηνὶς ὑπέστη, κἄλλ' ἔτ' ἐκπιδύεται.
τόσος γὰρ ἔσται πελανὸς αἱματοσφαγὴς
πρὸς γῇ Πλαταιῶν Δωρίδος λόγχης ὕπο·
θῖνες νεκρῶν δὲ καὶ τριτοσπόρῳ γονῇ
ἄφωνα σημανοῦσιν ὄμμασιν βροτῶν
ὡς οὐχ ὑπέρφευ θνητὸν ὄντα χρὴ φρονεῖν·
ὕβρις γὰρ ἐξανθοῦσ' ἐκάρπωσε στάχυν
ἄτης, ὅθεν πάγκλαυτον ἐξαμᾷ θέρος.
τοιαῦθ' ὁρῶντες τῶνδε τἀπιτίμια
μέμνησθ' Ἀθηνῶν Ἑλλάδος τε, μηδέ τις
ὑπερφρονήσας τὸν παρόντα δαίμονα
ἄλλων ἐρασθεὶς ὄλβον ἐκχέῃ μέγαν.
Ζεύς τοι κολαστὴς τῶν ὑπερκόμπων ἄγαν
φρονημάτων ἔπεστιν, εὔθυνος βαρύς.
πρὸς ταῦτ' ἐκεῖνον σωφρονεῖν κεχρημένοι
πινύσκετ' εὐλόγοισι νουθετήμασιν
λῆξαι θεοβλαβοῦνθ' ὑπερκόμπῳ θράσει.
σὺ δ', ὦ γεραιὰ μῆτερ ἡ Ξέρξου φίλη,

811 θ' I *k*: om. M *b k*. 815 κρηνὶς Housman, ὑπέστη ΣΦ, κἄλλ' Lawson: κρηπὶς ὕπεστιν ἀλλ' codd.
815 ἐκπιδύεται Schütz: ἐκπαιδεύεται (εἰσ- *b'*) vel sim. codd.

gance. When they came to the land of Greece, they did not scruple to plunder the images of the gods[120] and set fire to temples: altars have vanished, and the abodes of deities have been ruined, uprooted, wrenched from their foundations. Because of this evil they have done, they are suffering evil to match it in full measure, and have still to suffer more: the fountain of suffering has not stopped flowing—more of it is still gushing forth, so great will be the clotted libation of slain men's blood on the soil of the Plataeans, shed by the Dorian spear.[121] The heaps of corpses will voicelessly proclaim to the eyes of men, even to the third generation, that one who is a mortal should not think arrogant thoughts: outrage has blossomed, and has produced a crop of ruin, from which it is reaping a harvest of universal sorrow. Look on the price that is being paid for these actions, and remember Athens[122] and Greece: let no one despise the fortune he possesses and, through lust for more, let his great prosperity go to waste. Zeus, I tell you, stands over all as a chastiser of pride that boasts itself to excess, calling it to stern account. With this in mind, please advise him to show good sense; warn him, with well-spoken admonitions, to stop offending the gods with his boastful rashness. And you, dear, aged mother of Xerxes, go to your

120 The verb *συλᾶν* is broad enough in meaning to cover both carrying off the statues themselves (if they were of bronze or otherwise valuable) and stripping them of precious (and sacred) ornaments.

121 It is worth noting that the entire credit for the victory of Plataea is here given to the Spartans.

122 Cf. on 285.

ἐλθοῦσ᾽ ἐς οἴκους κόσμον, ὅστις εὐπρεπής,
λαβοῦσ᾽ ὑπαντίαζε παιδί· πάντα γὰρ
κακῶν ὑπ᾽ ἄλγους λακίδες ἀμφὶ σώματι
στημορραγοῦσι ποικίλων ἐσθημάτων.
ἀλλ᾽ αὐτὸν εὐφρόνως σὺ πράυνον λόγοις·
μόνης γάρ, οἶδα, σοῦ κλύων ἀνέξεται.
ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἄπειμι γῆς ὑπὸ ζόφον κάτω.
ὑμεῖς δέ, πρέσβεις, χαίρετ᾽, ἐν κακοῖς ὅμως
ψυχῇ διδόντες ἡδονὴν καθ᾽ ἡμέραν·
ὡς τοῖς θανοῦσι πλοῦτος οὐδὲν ὠφελεῖ.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἦ πολλὰ καὶ παρόντα καὶ μέλλοντ᾽ ἔτι
ἠλγησ᾽ ἀκούσας βαρβάροισι πήματα.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ

ὦ δαῖμον, ὡς με πόλλ᾽ ἐσέρχεται κακὰ
ἄλγη· μάλιστα δ᾽ ἥδε συμφορὰ δάκνει,
ἀτιμίαν γε παιδὸς ἀμφὶ σώματι
ἐσθημάτων κλυοῦσαν, ἥ νιν ἀμπέχει.
ἀλλ᾽ εἶμι, καὶ λαβοῦσα κόσμον ἐκ δόμων
ὑπαντιάζειν †ἐμῷ παιδὶ† πειράσομαι·
οὐ γὰρ τὰ φίλτατ᾽ ἐν κακοῖς προδώσομεν.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

στρ. α ὦ πόποι, ἦ μεγάλας ἀγαθᾶς τε πο-
λισσονόμου βιοτᾶς ἐπεκύρσαμεν, εὖθ᾽ ὁ γεραιὸς

850 ἐμῷ παιδὶ M I *b*: παιδὶ ἐμῷ vel sim. *b k*: παιδί μου Burges: ἐμῷ del. West, suggesting e.g. παιδὶ <*καὶ λόγοισί νιν* | *παρηγορῆσαι προσφιλῶς*> πειράσομαι.

palace, take such attire as is fitting, and go to meet your son. Because of his grief at the disaster, all the threads of his richly decorated garments are torn and in rags around his body. Calm him down with kindly words; I know that you are the only person he will be able to endure listening to. For myself, I am going away under the earth, down into the darkness. Farewell to you, old friends, and even amid these troubles, see you give your hearts pleasure day by day: wealth is of no benefit to the dead.

[*The* GHOST *disappears.*]

CHORUS

How it pains me to hear of these many sufferings, present and still to come, of the people of the East!

QUEEN

O god, how many dire sorrows are coming upon me! But the misfortune that stings me most of all is to hear of the dishonourable state of the garments that clothe my son's body. I am going now, and I will take proper attire from the palace and try to meet my son. We will not fail those who are dearest to us when they are in trouble.

[*Exit.*]

CHORUS

O popoi! What a great and good life we enjoyed
in our well-run city, when our old

855 παντάρκης ἀκάκας ἄμαχος βασιλεὺς
ἰσόθεος Δαρεῖος ἆρχε χώρας.

ἀντ. α πρῶτα μὲν εὐδοκίμους στρατιὰς ἀπε-
860 φαινόμεθ' ἠδὲ †νομίματα πύργινα πάντ' ἐπεύθυνον†·
νόστοι δ' ἐκ πολέμων ἀπόνους ἀπαθεῖς
<ἄνδρας> ἐς εὖ πράσσοντας ἆγον οἴκους.

στρ. β ὅσσας δ' εἶλε πόλεις πόρον οὐ διαβὰς Ἅλυος
ποταμοῖο
867 οὐδ' ἀφ' ἑστίας συθείς,
870 οἷαι Στρυμονίου πελάγους Ἀχελωΐδες εἰσὶ πάροικοι
Θρηΐκων ἐπαύλεις·

858 εὐδοκίμους *x*: εὐδοκίμου M I *b k*.
858–9 ἀπεφαινόμε(σ)θα Iˢˢᶜʳ *b* ΣΦ: ἀποφαινόμε(σ)θα M I *b k* ΣM. 859 νομίματα M *b*: νόμιμα τὰ I *b k*: νόμιμα *b k*: νόμισματα *b*: νόμισμα τὰ *k*: πολίσματα Keiper, cf. ΣMΦ ταῖς πόλεσι ταῖς πορθουμέναις.
860 πύργινα πάντ' ἐπεύθυνον (ἐπεθ- Mˢ *k'*): ΣMΦ (above) imply e.g. πύργιν' ἐπέρθομεν (Pallis) <ἄρδην>.
863 <ἄνδρας> add. Havet.
863 ἐς before εὖ Newman: before οἴκους codd.
866 ποταμοῖο Burney: ποταμοῦ vel sim. codd.

123 lit. "all-sufficing", i.e. always satisfying the needs of any situation.

124 The transmitted text is unmetrical, and, to the extent that it can be tortured into sense, seems to refer to the excellence and stability of Persian laws, a subject with no relevance to the surrounding context which relates exclusively to Persian success in

never-failing,[123] never-harming, invincible king,
godlike Darius, ruled the country!

In the first place, we produced armies of proved worth,
and high-towered cities ‹we put totally to sack›;[124]
and, marching back from war, ‹our men› came[125]
unscathed,
unfatigued, to flourishing homes.

And how many cities he took, without crossing the
stream of the river Halys[126]
or stirring from his hearth!
Such were the freshwater[127] dwellings of the Thracians
that neighbour the Strymonian gulf;[128]

war. Moreover, the scholia clearly reflect a text that made some reference to the sacking of cities (for this theme cf. 65, 105–8, 178, 348). I suspect therefore that *πάντ' ἐπεύθυνον* is a fragment of a marginal note (probably part of a quotation from another play) which has driven the original ending of this line out of the text.

125 lit. "and returns from wars brought ‹our men . . ."

126 This river (now the Kızılırmak) divides northern Asia Minor into an eastern and a western half, and had formerly been the boundary between the Median and Lydian empires.

127 lit. "Acheloian": the name of the river Achelous (the largest in Greece, and sometimes spoken of as the father of all rivers—cf. Euripides, *Bacchae* 519), was used in poetry to mean "(fresh) water" (*ibid.* 625; Sophocles fr. 5; Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 381).

128 The reference is to the lake-villages of the Strymon basin (cf. Herodotus 5.16), well known to Athenians in 472 because of Cimon's recent campaign on the lower Strymon, which included a large-scale clearance of the Thracians in the neighbourhood (Plutarch, *Cimon* 7.2).

ἀντ. β λίμνας τ᾽ ἔκτοθεν αἱ κατὰ χέρσον ἐληλαμέναι πέρι πύργον
τοῦδ᾽ ἄνακτος ἄιον,
Ἕλλας τ᾽ ἀμφὶ πόρον πλατὺν ἐκχύμεναι, μυχία τε Προποντὶς
καὶ στόμωμα Πόντου·

στρ. γ νᾶσοί θ᾽ αἱ κατὰ πρῶν᾽ ἅλιον περίκλυστοι
τᾷδε γᾷ προσήμεναι,
οἵα Λέσβος ἐλαιόφυτός τε Σάμος,
Χίος ἠδὲ Πάρος, Νάξος, Μύκονος,
Τήνῳ τε συνάπτουσ᾽ Ἄνδρος ἀγχιγείτων·

ἀντ. γ καὶ τὰς ἀγχιάλους ἐκράτυνε μεσάκτους,
Λῆμνον Ἰκάρου θ᾽ ἕδος,
καὶ Ῥόδον ἠδὲ Κνίδον, Κυπρίας τε πόλεις
Πάφον ἠδὲ Σόλους Σαλαμῖνά τε, τᾶς
νῦν ματρόπολις τῶνδ᾽ αἰτία στεναγμῶν·

871 ἐπαύλεις Wilamowitz: ἐπαύλων or ἐπαύλεων codd.
876 τ᾽ *k*: om. M I *b*.
877 ἐκχύμεναι Broadhead: εὐχόμεναι M *b k*: αὐχόμεναι *b k* Σ^{Φ}: αὐχώμεναι I: ἐχόμεναι *b*: ἐρχόμεναι $\gamma\rho$I: οἰκούμεναι $^{i}\Sigma^{M}$(?)
897 στεναγμῶν Σ^{Tr}: στεναγμάτων codd.

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129 Now the Sea of Marmara; the most important Greek cities on its shores were Cyzicus on the Asian side and Perinthus on the European.

130 "This land" here means Asia as a whole.

and, beyond the lake, the mainland cities, each
surrounded by a high wall,
obeyed this King,
as did those spread around the broad strait of Helle, and
the Propontis[129] with its deep bays,
and the mouth of the Black Sea;

and the sea-girt islands which lay near this land[130]
by the promontory that runs into the sea,[131]
such as Lesbos, olive-growing Samos,
and Chios; and Paros, Naxos, Myconos,
and Andros, the near neighbour that adjoins Tenos;

and he also ruled the sea-lands midway between the two
shores,[132]
Lemnos and the habitations of Icaros,
and Rhodes and Cnidus, and the cities of Cyprus,
Paphos and Soli and Salamis—
whose mother-city is the cause of our present
lamentation;[133]

131 The Ionian peninsula, which has Chios to its west, Lesbos to its north and Samos to its south. The five other islands mentioned in this stanza are not covered by the description, being in the Cyclades group in the south-western Aegean.

132 Of Europe and Asia; this description applies only to the first two islands mentioned, Lemnos in the northern Aegean and Icaros in the southern.

133 Salamis in Cyprus was traditionally founded by Teucer, Ajax's half-brother, when he was banished from the other Salamis by his father after returning from the Trojan War without Ajax. Aeschylus may have presented a version of this story in *The Women of Salamis.*

ἐπῳδ. καὶ τὰς εὐκτεάνους κατὰ κλῆρον Ἰαόνιον
πολυάνδρους
Ἑλλάνων ἐκράτυνε <πόλεις> σφετέραις φρεσίν·
ἀκάματον δὲ παρῆν σθένος ἀνδρῶν τευχηστήρων
παμμίκτων τ᾽ ἐπικούρων.
νῦν δ᾽ οὐκ ἀμφιλόγως θεότρεπτα τάδ᾽ αὖ φέρομεν
πολέμοισι,
δμαθέντες μεγάλως πλαγαῖσι ποντίαισιν.

ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

ἰὼ ἰώ·
δύστηνος ἐγώ, στυγερᾶς μοίρας
τῆσδε κυρήσας ἀτεκμαρτοτάτης.
ὡς ὠμοφρόνως δαίμων ἐνέβη
Περσῶν γενεᾷ· τί πάθω τλήμων;
λέλυται γὰρ ἐμοὶ γυίων ῥώμη
τήνδ᾽ ἡλικίαν ἐσιδόντ᾽ ἀστῶν.
εἴθ᾽ ὄφελε, Ζεῦ, κἀμὲ μετ᾽ ἀνδρῶν
τῶν οἰχομένων
θανάτου κατὰ μοῖρα καλύψαι.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ὀτοτοῖ, βασιλεῦ, στρατιᾶς ἀγαθῆς

899 Ἰαόνιον Hermann: Ἰόνιον codd.
900 ἐκράτυνε <πόλεις> Schütz: ἐκράτυνε(ν) codd.
908 ἰὼ ἰώ z: cf. 974, 1004–5, 1069, 1073: ἰὼ codd.
913 ἐμοὶ Schütz: ἐμῶν codd.

and the wealthy, populous <cities> of the Greeks
in the Ionian domain he ruled by his wisdom.
He had available to him the tireless strength of men-at-arms
and of a mixed multitude of allies.
But now we are experiencing the decisive reversal of all this by the gods in war,
mightily smitten by blows struck at sea.

[*Enter* XERXES *from the west. He is alone, on foot,*[134] *his royal robes in rags, and carrying nothing but an empty quiver.*]

XERXES

Ió, ió!
Hapless that I am, to have met
this dreadful fate, so utterly unpredictable!
How cruelly the god has trodden
on the Persian race! What am I to do, wretched me?
The strength is drained out of my limbs
when I see these aged citizens.[135]
Would to Zeus that the fate of death
had covered me over too
together with the men who are departed!

CHORUS

Ototoi, my King, for that fine army,

[134] The reference to his tented wagon (1000–1) does not imply that he has returned in it; see Taplin, *Stagecraft* 123.

[135] Because (i) there are virtually no young men left, (ii) he has been responsible for the death of so many, and (iii) some of the victims must be sons of the old men he faces.

καὶ περσονόμου τιμῆς μεγάλης
κόσμου τ᾽ ἀνδρῶν,
οὓς νῦν δαίμων ἐπέκειρεν.

προῳδ. γᾶ δ᾽ αἰάζει τὰν ἐγγαίαν
ἥβαν Ξέρξᾳ κταμέναν, Ἄιδου
σάκτορι Περσᾶν· ἀγδαβάται γὰρ
πολλοὶ φῶτες, χώρας ἄνθος,
τοξοδάμαντες, πάνυ ταρφύς τις
μυριὰς ἀνδρῶν, ἐξέφθινται.
αἰαῖ αἰαῖ κεδνᾶς ἀλκᾶς·
Ἀσία δὲ χθών, βασιλεῦ γαίας,
αἰνῶς αἰνῶς ἐπὶ γόνυ κέκλιται.

ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

στρ. α ὅδ᾽ ἐγών, οἰοῖ, αἰακτός·
μέλεος γέννᾳ γᾷ τε πατρῴᾳ
κακὸν ἄρ᾽ ἐγενόμαν.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

πρόσφθογγόν σοι †νόστου τὰν†
κακοφατίδα βοάν, κακομέλετον ἰὰν
Μαριανδυνοῦ θρηνητῆρος
πέμψω πέμψω πολύδακρυν.

926 ταρφύς τις Franz: γὰρ φύστις (φύσις *b′*) codd.
928 αἰαῖ αἰαῖ (αἰ αἰ αἰ αἰ) *b*: αἰ αἰ or αἰ αἰ M I *b k*.
932 πατρῴᾳ vel sim. *b* ΣΦ: πατρία M I *b k*.
935 πρόσφθογγον *k*, cf. ΣM προσφώνησιν: προφθόγγους (corrected from -ας) *b*: προφθόγγου or πρὸ φθόγγου M I *b k* ΣΦ.
940 πολύδακρυν Snell: πολύδακρυν ἰαχὰν codd.

and for the great honour of Persian empire
and the men who adorned it,
whom now the god has scythed away!

[*They shift from chant to song.*]

The land laments its native youth
killed by Xerxes, who crammed Hades
with Persians: many men
who were marched away,[136] the flower of the land,
slayers with the bow, thronging
myriads of men, have perished and gone.
Aiai, aiai, for our brave defenders!
King of our country, the land of Asia
is terribly, terribly down on her knees!

XERXES

Here am I—oioi!—one to grieve for:
wretch that I am, I see I have been a bane
to my nation and my fatherland.

CHORUS

In response to your return
I shall send forth, send forth with many tears
the shout of woeful words, the cry of woeful thoughts
of a Mariandynian dirge-singer.[137]

136 With W. Kraus, *Wiener Studien* 104 (1991) 101 n.50, I take ἀγδαβάται to mean ἄγδην (Lucian, *Lexiphanes* 10) βαίνοντες "marching as if led away by force".

137 The Mariandyni were a people of north-western Asia Minor (in the hinterland of the Greek colony of Heraclea Pontica), whose ritual laments were famous.

ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

ἀντ. α ἴετ᾽ αἰανῆ πάνδυρτον
δύσθροον αὐδάν· δαίμων γὰρ ὅδ᾽ αὖ
μετάτροπος ἐπ᾽ ἐμοί.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἤσω τοι καὶ πάνυ, †λαο-
παθῆ τε σεβίζων† ἁλίτυπά τε βάρη
πόλεως, γέννας· πενθητῆρος
κλάγξω δὴ γοόν ἀρίδακρυν.

ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

στρ. β Ἰάων γὰρ ἀπηύρα,
Ἰάων ναύφαρκτος Ἄρης ἑτεραλκὴς
νυχίαν πλάκα κερσάμενος δυσδαίμονά τ᾽ ἀκτάν.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

οἰοιοῖ βόα καὶ πάντ᾽ ἐκπεύθου.
ποῦ δὲ φίλων ἄλλος ὄχλος;
ποῦ δέ σοι παραστάται,
οἷος ἦν Φαρανδάκης,
Σούσας, Πελάγων καὶ Δατάμας
ἠδὲ Ψάμμις Σουσισκάνης τ᾽
Ἀγβάτανα λιπών;

941 *πάνδυρτον* Passow and C. Schneider: *καὶ πανόδυρτον* codd. 944 *πάνυ* West: *πανόδυρτον* codd.

944–5 λαοπαθῆ τε (τε om. I *b*′) *σεβίζων* codd.: λαοῦ *τὰ παθεά τε σέβων* Blomfield: λαοῦ *πάθεα σεβίζων* West: perh. λαοῦ *πάθεά τε σεβίσας*. 948 δὴ Sommerstein: δ᾽ αὖ codd.

950–1 Ἰάων M (951): Ἰάνων (or Ἰαόνων or Ἰώνων) M (950), M^{s} (951), I *b k*.

XERXES

Utter words of grief and sorrow,
full of lamentation; for this divinity
has turned right round against me.

CHORUS

I shall do so indeed, I tell you,
honouring the sufferings of the army and the grievous
blows struck at sea
to the city and the nation: truly I shall cry forth
the tearful wail of a mourner.[138]

XERXES

It was the Ionian, the Ionian war-spirit,
giving victory to their embattled ships, that robbed us of
our men,
cutting a swathe across the night-dark expanse of the sea
and the ill-starred shore.

CHORUS

Cry "oioioi!" and learn it all.
Where are the rest, your multitude of friends?
Where are those who stood beside you,
men such as Pharandaces was,
Susas, Pelagon and Datamas,
and Psammis and Susiscanes
who went from Agbatana?

[138] The text of these lines is badly corrupt, and though the general sense is clear, the above translation must be regarded as somewhat tentative so far as detail is concerned.

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959 Δατάμας Passow: Δοτάμας vel sim. codd.
960 ἠδὲ Passow: ἠδ' Ἀγαβάτας (Ἀγδα- *b'*) codd.

ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

ἀντ. β ὀλοοὺς ἀπέλειπον
Τυρίας ἐκ ναὸς ἔρροντας ἐπ᾽ ἀκταῖς
965 Σαλαμινιάσι, στυφέλου θείνοντας ἐπ᾽ ἄκρας.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

οἰοιοῖ †ποῦ δέ† σοι Φαρνοῦχος
κἀριόμαρδός γ᾽ ἀγαθός;
ποῦ δὲ Σευάλκης ἄναξ
970 ἢ Λίλαιος εὐπάτωρ,
Μέμφις, Θάρυβις καὶ Μασίστρας
Ἀρτεμβάρης τ᾽ ἠδ᾽ Ὑσταίχμας;
τάδε σ᾽ ἐπανερόμαν.

ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

στρ. γ ἰώ, ἰώ μοι·
975 τὰς ὠγυγίους κατιδόντες
στυγνὰς Ἀθάνας πάντες ἐνὶ πιτύλῳ,
ἒ ἔ, ἒ ἔ, τλάμονες ἀσπαίρουσι χέρσῳ.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἦ καὶ Περσᾶν τὸν ἄωτον,
τὸν σὸν πιστὸν πάντ᾽ ὀφθαλμόν,

965 Σαλαμινιάσι Hermann: Σαλαμινῖσι vel sim. codd.
966 ἄκρας Pauw: ἀκτᾶς codd.
967 ποῦ δέ M I *b k*: ποῦ δὴ *x*: βόα· ποῦ Hermann: ποῦ δὴ ποῦ Page. 968 γ᾽ Pauw: τ᾽ codd.
973 ἐπανερόμαν Wellauer (after Meineke): ἐπανέρομαι vel sim. codd.
974 μοι *b*: μοι μοι M I *b k*.
977 ἒ four times *k*: twice I: thrice M *b k*.

XERXES

I left them dead,
fallen out of a Tyrian ship off the shores
of Salamis, striking against a rugged cape.

CHORUS

Cry "oioioi!" Where did you leave Pharnuchus,[139]
yes, and the brave Ariomardus?
Where is the lord Seualces
or the nobly-born Lilaeus,
Memphis, Tharybis and Masistras,
Artembares and Hystaechmas?
I ask you this again!

XERXES

Ió, ió, ah me!
After setting eyes on ancient Athens,
hateful Athens, all of them in one stroke—
[*repeated sobs*] gasp their life out wretchedly on the shore!

CHORUS

And what of that flower of Persia,
your ever-faithful Eye,[140]

139 A syllable or two has been lost from the text, but no restoration is entirely convincing; I have translated Hermann's.

140 Greeks believed that one of the high officials in the Persian administration was called "the King's Eye". Cf. Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 91–125; Herodotus 1.114.2. There is no evidence in Persian sources of the existence of such an official.

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978 Περσᾶν τὸν ἄωτον Page: τὸν (τῶν Mac *b'*) Περσῶν αὐτοῦ codd.

μυρία μυρία πεμπαστάν,
<υυυυ>, Βατανώχου
παῖδ' ἄλπιστον
τοῦ Σεισάμα τοῦ Μεγαβάτα,
Πάρθον τε μέγαν τ' Οἰβάρην
ἔλιπες ἔλιπες; ὦ ὦ δαΐων·
Πέρσαις ἀγανοῖς κακὰ πρόκακα λέγεις.

ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

ἀντ. γ ἴυγγά μοι δῆτ'
ἀγαθῶν ἑτάρων ἀνακινεῖς
ἄλαστ' ἄλαστα στυγνὰ πρόκακα λέγων.
βοᾷ βοᾷ μοι μελέων ἔνδοθεν ἦτορ.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

καὶ μὴν ἄλλους γε ποθοῦμεν,
Μάρδων ἀνδρῶν μυριόταγον
Ξάνθην, Ἀρίων τ' Ἀγχάρην,
Διάιξίν τ' ἠδ' Ἀρσάκην
ἱππιάνακτας,
†κηγδαδάταν† καὶ Λυθίμναν

981 lacuna posited here by West: after Ἄλπιστον (sic) by Hermann. 984 τ' Οἰβάρην *z*: τ' Οἰβάρην τ' (τυβάνωρ' *b*') M I *b k*. 989 ἀνακινεῖς Headlam: ὑπομιμνήσκεις (a gloss) codd. 990 ἄλαστ' ἄλαστα Hermann: ἄλαστα codd.

991 μοι Dindorf: om. codd. 992 ἄλλους Prien: ἀλλο (ἄλλον Ipc) codd. 993 μυριόταγον (μυριοταγὸν) Dindorf: μυριόταρχον vel sim. Mac *b k* (?): μυριόνταρχον I *b k*.

997 κηγδαδάταν M *b k*: κιγδαδάταν I *b*: καγδαδαταν *b*: καὶ Δαδάταν Weil.

who counted the numberless tens of thousands,[141]
< >,[142] the favourite son
of Batanochus,
the son of Seisames, the son of Megabates,
and great Parthus and Oebares—
did you leave them, did you leave them? Oh, oh, hapless ones!
You speak of evils beyond evils for noble Persians.

XERXES

You do stir up in me
a longing for my brave comrades,
speaking of unforgettable, unforgettable things, hateful beyond hatefulness.
My heart cries out, cries out, within my body!

CHORUS

And there are others too that we miss,
Xanthes the commander of ten thousand Mardians[143]
and Anchares of the Arians,[144]
and Diaïxis and Arsaces,
lords of the cavalry,
and Egdadates[145] and Lythimnas

141 Possibly alluding to the story (Herodotus 7.60) of the Persian army being counted, ten thousand at a time, at Doriscus in Thrace.

142 The man's name is lost.

143 The Mardi were a nomadic Persian tribe (Herodotus 1.125.4).

144 Another Iranian people (Herodotus 7.66.1).

145 This is the name to which the manuscript tradition seems to point, but many have found it implausible when compared both with real Persian names and with those used elsewhere in the play.

Τόλμον τ᾽ αἰχμᾶς ἀκόρεστον·
ἔταφον ἔταφον οὐκ ἀμφὶ σκηναῖς
τροχηλάτοισιν ὄπιθεν ἑπομένους.

ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

στρ. δ βεβᾶσι γὰρ τοίπερ ἀγρέται στρατοῦ.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

βεβᾶσιν, οἵ, νώνυμοι.

ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

ἰὴ ἰή, ἰὼ ἰώ.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἰὼ ἰὼ δαίμονες,
†ἔθετ᾽† ἄελπτον κακὸν
διαπρέπον· οἷον δέδορκεν Ἄτα.

ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

ἀντ. δ πεπλήγμεθ᾽ †οἵᾳ δι᾽ αἰῶνος τύχᾳ†.

998 *τ᾽* κ: om. cett.

1001 *ὄπιθεν* Bothe, *ἑπομένους* Hartung: *ὄπισθεν* δ᾽ (δ᾽ *ὄπ.* or δ᾽ *ὄπ.* δ᾽ *b′*) *ἑπόμενοι* codd.

1002 *τοίπερ* Passow, *ἀγρέται* Toup: *οἵπερ ἀγρόται* (*ἀκρόται* γρΣM) codd.

1006 *ἔθετ᾽* (*ἔθεντ᾽ b′*, *ἔλθετ᾽ b′*) codd.: *ἔθεσθ᾽* G.C.W. Schneider: *ὡς ἔθετ᾽* Friis Johansen.

1008 so M (*οἷα . . . τύχαι b*, *οἷαι . . . τύχαι* I *b k*: *δαίμονος* γρM γρI): *οἵ, τᾶς δι᾽ αἰῶνος τύχας* West.

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146 i.e. a carriage with curtains (the normal Greek word was *ἁρμάμαξα*), to Greeks an emblem of Persian luxury (cf.

and Tolmus, never surfeited with battle.
I am amazed, amazed, that they are not following
behind your wheeled tent.[146]

XERXES

Yes, those who were marshals of my army have gone.

CHORUS

They have gone—oi!—without a name.

XERXES

Ieh, ieh! Ió, ió!

CHORUS

Ió, ió, you gods,
you have caused suffering that no one expected
for all to behold! What an evil eye Ruin has cast upon
us!

XERXES

Oi, we have been struck down from our age-old good
fortune—[147]

Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 70). On his westward march to Greece, Xerxes travelled sometimes in a chariot, sometimes in a ἁρμάμαξα, with "a thousand of the noblest and bravest Persians" following him, together with other picked troops (Herodotus 7.41.1–2). The Persian elders had expected that he would return in similar style, with his carriage and his escort: he has come back with neither.

147 I translate West's conjecture (*Studies* 94–95), which involves a syntactic construction not exactly paralleled but gives excellent sense, especially in contrasting the Persians' "age-old good fortune" with their "new" (1010) and unanticipated (1006) disaster.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

πεπλήγμεθ'· εὖδηλα γάρ—

ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

νέᾳ νέᾳ δύᾳ δύᾳ.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

Ἰαόνων ναυβατᾶν
κύρσαντες οὐκ εὐτυχῶς.
δυσπόλεμον δὴ γένος τὸ Περσᾶν.

ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

στρ. ε πῶς δ' οὔ; στρατὸν μὲν τοσοῦ-
τὸν τάλας πέπληγμαι.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

τί δ' οὐκ ὄλωλεν, μεγάλατε Περσᾶν;

ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

ὁρᾷς τὸ λοιπὸν τόδε τᾶς ἐμᾶς στολᾶς;

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ὁρῶ ὁρῶ.

ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

τόνδε τ' ὀιστοδέγμονα—

ΧΟΡΟΣ

τί τόδε λέγεις σεσωμένον;

ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

θησαυρὸν βελέεσσιν;

1020 τόνδε Porson: τάνδε vel sim. codd.

CHORUS

We have been struck down, that is all too plain—

XERXES

—by new agony, new agony!

CHORUS

—by an ill-starred encounter
with Ionian sailors.
The Persian race is luckless in war.

XERXES

Indeed it is: I am stricken to misery
in the loss of this great army.

CHORUS

You who have brought such great ruin to Persia—what is
not lost?

XERXES

Do you see these remnants of my attire?

CHORUS

I do, I do!

XERXES [*displaying his quiver*]

And this arrow-holding—

CHORUS

What is this that you say was saved?

XERXES

—repository for missiles?

ΧΟΡΟΣ

βαιά γ' ὡς ἀπὸ πολλῶν.

ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

ἐσπανίσμεθ' ἀρωγῶν.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

Ἰάνων λαὸς οὐ φυγαίχμας.

ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

ἀντ. ε ἄγαν ἄρειος· κατεῖ-
δον δὲ πῆμ' ἄελπτον.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

τραπέντα ναύφαρκτον ἐρεῖς ὅμιλον;

ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

πέπλον δ' ἐπέρρηξ' ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ κακοῦ.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

παπαῖ παπαῖ.

ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

καὶ πλέον ἢ παπαῖ μὲν οὖν.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

δίδυμα γάρ ἐστι καὶ τριπλᾶ.

ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

λυπρά· χάρματα δ' ἐχθροῖς.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

καὶ σθένος γ' ἐκολούθη—

1026 ἄγαν ἄρειος Wellauer: ἀγανόρ(ε)ιος codd.

CHORUS

Little indeed, out of so much.

XERXES

Our defenders have been decimated.

CHORUS

The Ionian people are not cowardly in battle.[148]

XERXES

They are all too martial! I have witnessed
a disaster I never expected.

CHORUS

You mean the rout of our mass of ships?

XERXES

I ripped my robe at the terrible event.

CHORUS

Papai, papai!

XERXES

No, "papai" is too mild![149]

CHORUS

Yes, the disaster was twice and thrice as great.

XERXES

Painful, and a delight to our enemies!

CHORUS

Cut short, too, was the strength—

148 lit. "do not flee the spear-point".
149 lit. "on the contrary, even more than 'papai'!"

ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

γυμνός εἰμι προπομπῶν.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

—φίλων ἄταισι ποντίαισιν.

ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

1038 δίαινε δίαινε πῆμα· πρὸς δόμους δ' ἴθι.
στρ. ζ

ΧΟΡΟΣ

1047 διαίνομαι γοεδνὸς ὤν.

ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

1040 βόα νυν ἀντίδουπά μοι.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

δόσιν κακὰν κακῶν κακοῖς.

ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

ἴυζε μέλος ὁμοῦ τιθείς.

ΞΕΡΞΗΣ καὶ ΧΟΡΟΣ

ὀτοτοτοτοῖ.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

βαρεῖά γ' ἅδε συμφορά·

1045 οἵ, μάλα καὶ τόδ' ἀλγῶ.

ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

1046 ἔρεσσ' ἔρεσσε καὶ στέναζ' ἐμὴν χάριν.
ἀντ. ζ

ΧΟΡΟΣ

1039 αἰαῖ αἰαῖ, δύα δύα.

1039 and 1047 interchanged by Butler.
1039 see above on 1039/47.

XERXES

I am denuded of escorts!

CHORUS

—of our friends, by calamities at sea.

XERXES

Wet, wet your cheeks in grief, and go with me to the palace.

CHORUS

I wet my cheeks in mourning.

XERXES

Cry out now in response to my cries.

CHORUS

A sad answer of sad sound to sad sound.

XERXES

Raise a song of woe, joining it together with mine.

XERXES *and* CHORUS

Ototototoi!

CHORUS

How grievous is this disaster!
Oi, it truly does give me pain!

[*Through the next three stanzas the* CHORUS *successively perform the actions that* XERXES *prescribes.*]

XERXES

Row, row with your arms, and groan for my sake.

CHORUS

Aiai, aiai! Sorrow, sorrow!

ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

βόα νυν ἀντίδουπά μοι.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

μέλειν πάρεστι, δέσποτα.

ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

ἐπορθίαζέ νυν γόοις.

ΞΕΡΞΗΣ καὶ ΧΟΡΟΣ

ὀτοτοτοτοῖ.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

μέλαινα δ' ἀμμεμείξεται,
οἵ, στονόεσσα πλαγά.

ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

στρ. η καὶ στέρν' ἄρασσε κἀπιβόα τὸ Μύσιον.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἄνια ἄνια.

ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

καί μοι γενείου πέρθε λευκήρη τρίχα.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἄπριγδ' ἄπριγδα, μάλα γοεδνά.

ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

ἀύτει δ' ὀξύ.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

καὶ τάδ' ἔρξω.

1052 ἀμμεμ- M^{ac}(?), Dindorf: αὖ μεμ- M^{pc} I *b k*.
1053 οἵ Lachmann: μοι codd.
1056 πέρθε *k z*: ὕπερθε(ν) M I *b k*.

XERXES

Cry out now in response to my cries.

CHORUS

I can take care to do that, master.

XERXES

Now raise a high-pitched wail.

XERXES *and* CHORUS

Ototototoi!

CHORUS

And mixed in with my groans will be—
oi!—black, violent blows.[150]

XERXES

Beat your breasts too, and accompany the action with a Mysian cry.

CHORUS

Painful, painful!

XERXES

Now, please, ravage the white hairs of your beard.

CHORUS

With clenched hands, with clenched hands, very mournfully!

XERXES

And raise a piercing shriek.

CHORUS

I shall do that too.

[150] Presumably to the head (cf. *Cho.* 427–8), since Xerxes' next line shows that breast-beating has not yet been mentioned. The blows are "black" because they will be delivered hard enough to raise bruises.

ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

ἀντ. η πέπλον δ' ἔρεικε κολπίαν ἀκμῇ χερῶν.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἄνια ἄνια.

ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

καὶ ψάλλ' ἔθειραν καὶ κατοικτίσαι στρατόν.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἄπριγδ' ἄπριγδα, μάλα γοεδνά.

ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

διαίνου δ' ὅσσε.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

τέγγομαί τοι.

ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

ἐπῳδ. βόα νυν ἀντίδουπά μοι.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

οἰοῖ οἰοῖ.

ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

αἰακτὸς εἰς δόμους κίε.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἰὼ ἰώ.

ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

ἰᾠα δὴ κατ' ἄστυ—

after 1069 codd. add Περσὶς αἶα δύσβατος (= 1073); del. Wilamowitz. 1070, 1071 ἰᾠα West: ἰωὰ vel sim. M *b k*: ἰὼ ἰὼ *b*: ἰὼ I *b* (and *k'* in 1070 only).

XERXES

Tear the folds of your robe with your hands.

CHORUS

Painful, painful!

XERXES

And pluck your hair, and voice your pity for the army.

CHORUS

With clenched hands, with clenched hands, very
mournfully!

XERXES

And make your eyes moist.

CHORUS

I assure you I am moistening them.

[*A mournful procession now sets itself slowly in motion, as the* CHORUS *escort* XERXES *away towards his palace.*]

XERXES

Cry out now in response to my cries.

CHORUS

Oioi, oioi!

XERXES

Go wailing to the palace.

CHORUS

Ió, ió!

XERXES

Let "ió" indeed be heard throughout the city—

ΞΟΡΟΣ

ἰὼ δῆτα, ναὶ ναί.

ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

γοᾶσθ' ἁβροβάται.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἰὼ ἰώ, Περσὶς αἶα δύσβατος.

ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

< >

ΧΟΡΟΣ

< >

ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

ἠὴ ἠή, τρισκάλμοισιν—

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἠὴ ἠή, βάρισιν ὀλόμενοι.

ΞΕΡΞΗΣ

< >

ΧΟΡΟΣ

πέμψω τοί σε δυσθρόοις γόοις.

1073–4 lacuna posited by West.

1075–6 lacuna posited by West, who suggests e.g. <πρόπεμπέ νύν μ' ἐς οἴκους>.

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151 Persia was thought of by Greeks as a land of rugged terrain (Herodotus 9.122; Aristophanes, *Birds* 833–6; Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 1.3.3, 7.5.67); but why should the elders feel this specially now? Are they perhaps walking barefoot, having cast off their shoes as a further gesture of mourning?

CHORUS

Let "ió" be heard indeed, yes, yes!

XERXES

—as you lament, while you walk delicately.

CHORUS

Ió, ió, Persian ground is hard to tread on![151]

XERXES

< >[152]

CHORUS

< >.

XERXES

Ehhh-ehhh, ehhh-ehhh—the triple-oared—

CHORUS

Ehhh-ehhh, ehhh-ehhh—boats destroyed them!

XERXES

<Escort me now to my palace.>[153]

CHORUS

Yes, I will escort you, with loud wails of grief.

[*Exeunt.*]

152 West (*Studies* 96) argues convincingly that two lines have been lost here, each probably beginning with yet another cry of woe; without the lacuna, the change of topic is extremely abrupt, and ὀλόμενοι has no construction.

153 I translate West's conjecture; the chorus's final line (with its τοι as in 1065) clearly presupposes that they are obeying an order.

SEVEN AGAINST THEBES

Seven against Thebes[1] was produced at the City Dionysia of 467 BC as the third part of a four-play production—that is, the last play in a tragic trilogy; it was preceded by *Laius* and *Oedipus*, and followed by the satyr-drama *The Sphinx*. The production won first prize. Both the rival dramatists on this occasion were sons of famous tragic poets of the previous generation. One of them, Aristias (who took second place) was actually producing the plays of his father Pratinas,[2] who doubtless had died recently leaving these compositions behind him, just as the last plays of Euripides and of Sophocles were produced posthumously by

[1] This title, though already current in the late fifth century (Aristophanes, *Frogs* 1021), is unlikely to be Aeschylean, since nowhere in the play are Thebes or the Thebans referred to under those names; they are always called the city and people of Cadmus. I have argued, indeed, that in Aeschylus' time, where the plays of a tragic trilogy presented a sequence of episodes in a single story, it was not customary to give separate titles to the individual dramas; see *Hermes* 117 (1989) 432–6 and *Seminari Romani* 5 (2002) 4–5.

[2] So the papyrus version of the Hypothesis (*Oxyrhynchus Papyrus* 2256 fr. 2); in the early medieval manuscript M (the only one to preserve the relevant part of the Hypothesis) the satyr-drama alone is said to have been Pratinas' work.

members of their families: his production included *Perseus, Tantalus*, and a satyr-drama called *The Wrestlers*.[3] In third place came Polyphrasmon, son of Phrynichus, with a tetralogy about Lycurgus, a subject that Aeschylus would take up a few years later.[4] Sophocles, who had been victorious the previous year, was not competing.

The story of Laius, Oedipus, and the wars for possession of Thebes among members of the latter's family after his death, had long been familiar throughout the Greek world, and was the subject of three early epics, the *Oedipodeia*, the *Thebaid* (about the curse of Oedipus, the quarrel between his sons, and the expedition of the Seven), and the *Epigoni* (about the attack on, and destruction of, Thebes by the sons of the Seven).[5] Sophocles' treatment of it in *Antigone, Oedipus the King*, and *Oedipus at Colonus* (to name his three plays in the order of their composition) has become canonical for later times, but we are not entitled to take it for granted that the stories were used by, or even necessarily known to, Aeschylus in the form that Sophocles gave them.[6] Our actual fragments of

[3] There must have been a further tragedy, but its title has dropped out of the text (in M: the papyrus does not name the plays at all).

[4] See the sections on *Edonians, Bassarids, Youths* and *Lycurgus* in Volume III.

[5] See M.L. West, *Greek Epic Fragments* (Cambridge MA, 2003) 4–10, 38–59.

[6] Though when Sophocles—particularly in the earliest of his three plays, *Antigone*—alludes to an episode of the story in a way that presupposes previous knowledge of it, he may well be assuming that his audience would fill in the gaps by recalling the fairly recent, and famous, production by Aeschylus; thus Ismene's

the first two plays of Aeschylus' production are very slight: from *Laius* we have two single-word quotations (frr. 121, 122), a tiny scrap of a papyrus Hypothesis (*Oxyrhynchus Papyrus* 2256 fr. 1) which seems to indicate that Laius himself was the play's opening speaker, and a statement (fr. 122a) that the play referred somewhere to a murderer who tasted and spat out his victim's blood; from *Oedipus*, nothing at all securely ascribed; and from one play or the other—but we do not know which—three lines (fr. 387a) of a messenger-speech referring to the murder of Laius and placing it at a road-junction at Potniae, just south of Thebes.[7] We gain some further assistance, however, from backward references in *Seven against Thebes* itself—particularly in the ode (720–791) in which the chorus review the entire course of events leading from Laius' defiance of an oracular warning, through Oedipus' marriage, self-blinding, and curse, to the impending death of his two grandsons at each other's hands, and also in certain remarks by Eteocles, such as his reference (710–1, cf. 727–733) to a dream about the division of Oedipus' property, a reference that would hardly be understood unless the audience already knew about this dream.

Since we know of no other murder but that of Laius to which fr. 122a could reasonably be taken to refer in a play that bore Laius' name, we can safely assume that Laius'

reference to her father's "self-detected crimes" (*αὐτοφώρων ἀμπλακημάτων*, *Ant.* 51) makes it likely that the Aeschylean, like the Sophoclean, Oedipus was himself responsible for discovering the truth about his parentage and/or about the murder of Laius.

7 Whereas Sophocles was to place it at another road-junction near Daulis in Phocis, on the road from Thebes to Delphi.

death (off stage, of course) was the main event of the first play. Since he was killed while on a journey (fr. 387a), he must have been given some reason for leaving Thebes. In Euripides' *Phoenician Maidens* (35–37) he is on his way to Delphi, and this version was not a new one, since Sophocles seems to presuppose it;[8] but Aeschylus cannot have used it, since he makes Laius head *southwards*—towards Plataea, beyond which lie Megara and Corinth. We know that the exposure of Laius' infant son was mentioned in the play (fr. 122) and so probably had some relevance to its plot: in Euripides Laius goes to Delphi to ask whether his son was still alive, and perhaps in Aeschylus the motive for his journey was the same but he was making for Corinth, having maybe heard a rumour that his son had been rescued and taken there. Meanwhile that son was himself on the way from Corinth to Thebes; we do not know the reason for his journey, and we cannot be sure that Aeschylus troubled to provide him with one.[9] And they met at Potniae.

Since *Laius* contained a reference to Laius' killer tast-

[8] All we are told explicitly in Sophocles is that Laius left Thebes as a θεωρός, i.e. on a religiously motivated mission of some sort (*Oedipus the King* 114); but this term could be used of someone going to Delphi to inquire of the oracle (*Oedipus at Colonus* 413), and it is hard to find another plausible destination for him that would account for his being on the particular road where the confrontation with Oedipus took place.

[9] He probably did not appear on stage in *Laius* (see below), so no one in Thebes will yet have known his intentions except to the extent that they could be inferred from his actions; and in *Oedipus* the whole episode was far in the past, and a skilful composer of narrative would be able to pass lightly over details like this.

ing his blood (fr. 122a), it is likely that this was part of a full narrative of his murder;[10] and if so, it is a reasonable supposition that the messenger-speech from which fr. 387a comes belonged to this play rather than to the next. The news will have triggered lamentations, in the midst of which the body of Laius was probably brought back—much as in *Seven* the bodies of the two brothers are brought back from the battlefield at 848 after the chorus have already begun singing laments for them.

According to Apollonius Rhodius (4.475–9), the tasting and spitting of a murder victim's blood was particularly associated with treacherous killings (δολοκτασίαι) such as the ambush-murder (as Apollonius tells it) of Medea's brother Apsyrtus; and the same source[11] which tells us that Aeschylus mentioned this custom in *Laius* tells us that he mentioned it also in *Perrhaebian Women*, evidently in connection with the exceptionally treacherous murder by Ixion of his father-in-law which we know to have been the subject of that play. If Laius' killer was indeed said to have tasted his blood, the murder must have been presented very differently from any other version known to us—unless, as we hear retrospectively in Sophocles (*Oedipus the*

[10] There is only a very brief messenger-narrative of the brothers' killing of each other in *Seven*, and none at all of the murders in *Agamemnon* or *Libation-Bearers*; but none of these slayings comes as a surprise to those on stage. In surviving tragedy, when (as in Sophocles' *Antigone*, or Euripides' *Hippolytus* or *Heracles*) an unnatural death or deaths occur which none of those who first learn of it had, as it were, seen approaching, it is always fully narrated.

[11] *Etymologicum Genuinum* s.v. ἀπάργματα.

King 118–123, 836–850), the survivor's tale of the murder was in crucial respects false (doubtless to exonerate himself for having failed to protect his master) and he pretended that Laius had been ambushed by a gang of brigands.[12]

It is not likely that either the arrival of Oedipus at Thebes, or the menace of the Sphinx from which he saved the city (*Seven* 775–7), featured in *Laius*,[13] since they provided the main plot features of the satyr-drama *The Sphinx*.

For evidence regarding what may have happened in the second play of the trilogy, *Oedipus*, we are almost entirely dependent on retrospective passages in *Seven*—the reference by Eteocles, already mentioned, to a dream about the division of his father's property (710–1), and the following passage from the choral ode after Eteocles' final exit:

> But when he became aware,
> wretched man, of his appalling marriage,
> enraged by grief,
> with maddened heart,

[12] So G. O. Hutchinson, *Aeschylus: Seven against Thebes* (Oxford, 1985) xix (unnecessarily supplementing the *Et.Gen.* text on the ground that "such mistakes might seem more in place in the *Oedipus*"; on the contrary, it is vital to the plot of the trilogy that the Thebans be led to suppose that the young Oedipus, who will soon arrive at Thebes, cannot possibly have any connection with the recent murder of their king not far from the city). The unusual device of a lying messenger-speech is used by Sophocles in *The Trachinian Maidens* (229–328) and *Electra* (673–763).

[13] Despite my suggestion in Sommerstein *AT* 125.

he perpetrated two evils:
by his own father-slaying hand
he was robbed of his < > eyes,

and angered with his sons
for their wretched maintenance of him he let fly at
them
(ah, ah!) the curses of a bitter tongue,
that they would actually one day
divide his property between them
with iron-wielding hand.

The statement that Oedipus perpetrated "two [literally 'twin'] evils" when he learned the truth about his marriage (and, presumably, learned more or less at the same time that he had killed his father) suggests that in Aeschylus' imagining of the story, the discovery and the self-blinding were followed quite closely by Oedipus' curse on his sons. Moreover, Eteocles' dream[14] ought to precede the curse: coming before the curse the dream would be enigmatic and ambiguous, coming after the curse it would tell Eteocles nothing that he had not been told already. This tends to suggest that dream, discovery, self-blinding and curse, probably in that sequence, all formed part of *Oedipus*, though the dream, like that of the Queen in *Persians* or of Clytaemestra in *Libation-Bearers*, will most likely have taken place shortly *before* the action of the

14 The content of the dream is usually taken to be alluded to in 727–733 (cf. 816–9, 906–9, 941–950): a Scythian stranger casting lots for the division of Oedipus' property between his sons. The chorus, and perhaps Eteocles himself, in the end realize that the stranger is Iron (730, 817, 944), i.e. the sword.

play began. We may add that if it is correct, as is done in this edition, to take τροφᾶς (786) as referring to the way Oedipus' sons were maintaining their father,[15] Oedipus must already have been an old man who had "retired" from active life and entrusted the management of his household and city to his sons—who were failing to treat him with proper filial respect, even at a time when his reputation was still unblemished. We cannot tell how the discovery was effected, and we have no way of knowing what role, if any, Oedipus' mother-wife played in the action.

If this outline reconstruction of *Oedipus* is correct, it leaves little if any space in the play for events subsequent to Oedipus' curse. Rather, the death of Oedipus, the quarrel between Eteocles and Polyneices, the expulsion of the latter from Thebes, his arrival at Argos, and the raising of Adrastus' expedition against Thebes, must all be taken to fall in the undramatized interval between the actions of *Oedipus* and of *Seven*. The surviving play begins when Thebes has been under siege for some time, and the prophet Teiresias[16] has declared that the day now commencing will see a major enemy assault on the city.

On the satyr-drama, *The Sphinx*, which presented in

[15] Rather than taking it, with Hutchinson, to refer to their incestuous birth. I discussed this question in *Hermes* 117 (1989) 440–5; to the arguments presented there it should be added that a scholium to Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus* (1375) says explicitly that Aeschylus' treatment of Oedipus' curse was "similar" to the story in the epic *Thebais* (fr. 3 West) according to which he cursed his sons because they slighted him in the distribution of cuts of meat from a sacrifice.

[16] See note on 24. It is, of course, possible that Teiresias had been seen on stage in one or both of the preceding plays.

light-hearted vein the story of the defeat and destruction of the Sphinx by Oedipus, see the relevant section of Volume III.

Towards the end of *Seven* there are several passages of highly suspect authenticity.[17] The final scene, in which a herald forbids the burial of Polyneices, Antigone defies him, and the chorus divide in two, half escorting the body of one brother and half that of the other, ruins an ending which till then had stressed, over and over again, the equality of the brothers in death, and leaves the action of the play, and therefore of the trilogy, lacking any closure; at one point, moreover (1039, where see note), the text can hardly be understood without prior acquaintance with Sophocles' *Antigone*. It is overwhelmingly probable, therefore, that this scene was added for a restaging of *Seven*, at a time when Sophocles' play had made it impossible to think of the mutual slaughter of Eteocles and Polyneices without also thinking of the tragic heroism of their sister.

If that is the case, it becomes unlikely that Antigone and her sister Ismene (862) originally figured at all in a play whose later scenes otherwise emphasize the complete destruction of the house of Laius,[18] and this is confirmed by the very clumsy way in which they are introduced in 861–874, with the chorus saying the sisters have evidently come to sing a lament and immediately adding, without any reason given, that they themselves, the chorus, ought to sing one first. Clearly the interpolator wanted to have the sis-

[17] See R. D. Dawe, *CQ* 17 (1967) 16–28; Taplin, *Stagecraft* 169–191; Sommerstein *AT* 130–4.

[18] Cf. 691, 720, 813, 877, 881–2, 951–5.

ters sing the antiphonal lament 961–1004 (which Aeschylus doubtless wrote for sections, or section-leaders, of the chorus)[19] but did not want to bring them on immediately before it and so break up the continuous sequence of lyric lament. The removal of 861–874 allows the chorus's lament over the bodies of the two brothers to begin immediately they have been brought on stage (a movement covered by 848–860).

The short anapaestic passage 822–831 may well also be an interpolation;[20] it contributes nothing to the reshaping of the ending consequent on the introduction into the play of Antigone and Ismene, and need not (though it may) have been composed at the same time as the other additions.

As a result of these changes to the ending of *Seven* we seem to have lost a few lines from the very conclusion of the play—though probably no more than a few: already in the last surviving genuine lines the question has been raised (1002) of where the brothers shall be buried, and it has been pointed out (1004) that it would be cruel to lay them near the father who had cursed them; once an alternative suggestion has been made and accepted, the chorus—all of it, not two halves separately as in the altered ending—can escort the two corpses to their final home,

[19] Except for 996–7, which suits only the sisters—and which is metrically incongruous in its context (two dochmiacs in a long epode which is otherwise entirely iambic) and contains a very dubious use of τὸ πρόσω to mean "also, additionally"; these two lines were probably inserted by the interpolator.

[20] See R. D. Dawe in Dawe et al. ed. *Dionysiaca: Nine Studies . . . presented to Sir Denys Page* (Cambridge, 1978) 88–89.

the only share of their father's possessions that has in the end been allotted to them (731–3).

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ΕΠΤΑ ΕΠΙ ΘΗΒΑΣ

ΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ

ΕΤΕΟΚΛΗΣ
ΚΑΤΑΣΚΟΠΟΣ
ΧΟΡΟΣ ΠΑΡΘΕΝΩΝ
ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ
{ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΗ
ΙΣΜΗΝΗ
ΚΗΡΥΞ}

ΕΤΕΟΚΛΗΣ

Κάδμου πολῖται, χρὴ λέγειν τὰ καίρια,
ὅστις φυλάσσει πρᾶγος ἐν πρύμνῃ πόλεως
οἴακα νωμῶν, βλέφαρα μὴ κοιμῶν ὕπνῳ.
εἰ μὲν γὰρ εὖ πράξαιμεν, αἰτία θεοῦ·

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1 These three characters were added to the play when the spurious ending was created.

2 As often in poetry, the city is imaged as a ship.

SEVEN AGAINST THEBES

CHARACTERS OF THE PLAY

ETEOCLES, *ruler of Thebes*
SCOUT
CHORUS *of Theban maidens*
MESSENGER
{ANTIGONE *and* ISMENE, *daughters of Oedipus*
HERALD}[1]

Produced: 467 BC, as third play in the tetralogy *Laius, Oedipus, Seven against Thebes, Sphinx.*

Scene: The citadel of Thebes. A mound represents a shrine to the major gods of the city. One side-passage is imagined as leading to the lower town, the other to the walls and the battlefield.

A crowd of armed Theban citizens is present. ETEOCLES *(not in armour) enters, attended, from the town, to address them.*

ETEOCLES

Citizens of Cadmus' land, he who guards the city's fortunes, controlling the helm at its stern,[2] never letting his eyes rest in sleep, has to give the right advice for the situation. For if we should be successful, the responsibility

εἰ δ' αὖθ', ὃ μὴ γένοιτο, συμφορὰ τύχοι,
Ἐτεοκλέης ἂν εἷς πολὺς κατὰ πτόλιν
ὑμνοῖθ' ὑπ' ἀστῶν φροιμίοις πολυρρόθοις
οἰμώγμασίν θ', ὧν Ζεὺς ἀλεξητήριος
ἐπώνυμος γένοιτο Καδμείων πόλει.
ὑμᾶς δὲ χρὴ νῦν, καὶ τὸν ἐλλείποντ' ἔτι
ἥβης ἀκμαίας καὶ τὸν ἔξηβον χρόνῳ
βλαστημὸν ἀλδαίνοντα σώματος πολύν,
ὥραν ἔχονθ' ἕκαστον, ὥστε συμπρεπές,
πόλει τ' ἀρήγειν καὶ θεῶν ἐγχωρίων
βωμοῖσι, τιμὰς μὴ ᾽ξαλειφθῆναί ποτε,
τέκνοις τε γῇ τε μητρί, φιλτάτῃ τρόφῳ·
ἣ γὰρ νέους ἔρποντας εὐμενεῖ πέδῳ,
ἅπαντα πανδοκοῦσα παιδείας ὄτλον,
ἐθρέψατ' οἰκητῆρας ἀσπιδηφόρους
πιστοὺς ὅπως γένοισθε πρὸς χρέος τόδε.
καὶ νῦν μὲν εἰς τόδ' ἦμαρ εὖ ῥέπει θεός·
χρόνον γὰρ ἤδη τόνδε πυργηρουμένοις
καλῶς τὰ πλείω πόλεμος ἐκ θεῶν κυρεῖ.
νῦν δ' ὡς ὁ μάντις φησίν, οἰωνῶν βοτήρ,
ἐν ὠσὶ νωμῶν καὶ φρεσὶν πυρὸς δίχα
χρηστηρίους ὄρνιθας ἀψευδεῖ τέχνῃ—

12–13 transposed by Paley.
13 ὥραν M^s *b*: ὥραν M I *b k* (*τ'* add. *b'*).
13 ὥστε Bourdelot: ὥστι M^s I *b k*: ὥστις M *b*.
19 οἰκητῆρας *x*: οἰκηστῆρας I *k*: οἰκιστῆρας M *b k*.

[3] Lit. "with loud-surging preludes and wailings", i.e. with loud

would be god's; but if on the other hand disaster were to strike (which may it not!) then Eteocles' name alone would be repeatedly harped on by the citizens throughout the town amid a noisy surge of terrified wailing[3]—from which may Zeus the Defender, true to his title, defend the city of the Cadmeans! This is the time when every one of you—including both those who have not yet reached the peak of young manhood, and those whom time has carried past it and who are feeding abundant bodily growth—must have a care for your city, as is right and proper, must come to its aid, to the aid of the altars of its native gods so as never to let their rites be obliterated, to the aid of your children, and to the aid of your Motherland, your most loving nurse; for when you were children crawling on her kindly soil, she generously accepted all the toil of your upbringing, and nurtured you to become her shield-bearing inhabitants and be faithful to her in this hour of need. And thus far, up to this day, god has inclined to the right side: we have been besieged within our walls all this time, but for the most part, thanks to the gods, the war is turning out well for us. But now, as the prophet[4] states—that shepherd of fowl,[5] who with infallible skill observes birds of augury with his ears and his mind, without using fire[6]—this man, the mas-

surges of wailing which will precede and anticipate the horrors which the conquered population can expect to suffer.

4 Since the prophet is said to use his "ears and mind" he evidently does not *see* the flight of the birds, and the audience will readily identify him as the blind Teiresias.

5 So called, presumably, because he knows the birds as well as a shepherd does his flock.

6 Contrasting divination by augury with divination from the manner in which sacrifices burn on an altar.

οὗτος τοιῶνδε δεσπότης μαντευμάτων
λέγει μεγίστην προσβολὴν Ἀχαιίδα
νυκτηγορεῖσθαι κἀπιβούλευσιν πόλει.
ἀλλ᾽ εἷς τ᾽ ἐπάλξεις καὶ πύλας πυργωμάτων
ὁρμᾶσθε πάντες, σοῦσθε σὺν παντευχίᾳ·
πληροῦτε θωρακεῖα, κἀπὶ σέλμασιν
πύργων στάθητε, καὶ πυλῶν ἐπ᾽ ἐξόδοις
μίμνοντες εὖ θαρσεῖτε, μηδ᾽ ἐπηλύδων
ταρβεῖτ᾽ ἄγαν ὅμιλον· εὖ τελεῖ θεός.
σκοποὺς δὲ κἀγὼ καὶ κατοπτῆρας στρατοῦ
ἔπεμψα, τοὺς πέποιθα μὴ ματᾶν ὁδῷ·
καὶ τῶνδ᾽ ἀκούσας οὔ τι μὴ ληφθῶ δόλῳ.

ΚΑΤΑΣΚΟΠΟΣ

Ἐτεόκλεες, φέριστε Καδμείων ἄναξ,
ἥκω σαφῆ τἀκεῖθεν ἐκ στρατοῦ φέρων·
αὐτὸς κατόπτης δ᾽ εἶμ᾽ ἐγὼ τῶν πραγμάτων.
ἄνδρες γὰρ ἕπτα, θούριοι λοχαγέται,
ταυροσφαγοῦντες εἰς μελάνδετον σάκος
καὶ θιγγάνοντες χερσὶ ταυρείου φόνου
Ἄρη τ᾽ Ἐννὼ καὶ φιλαίματον Φόβον
ὠρκωμότησαν, ἢ πόλει κατασκαφὰς
θέντες λαπάξειν ἄστυ Καδμείων βίᾳ,
ἢ γῆν θανόντες τήνδε φυράσειν φόνῳ·
μνημεῖά θ᾽ αὑτῶν τοῖς τεκοῦσιν εἰς δόμους

29 *κἀπιβούλευσιν* Dindorf: *κἀπιβούλευσειν* M I *b k*: *κἀπιβουλεύειν b k*.

ter of this kind of prophecy, says that a great plan for an attack by the Achaeans[7] upon the city is being discussed this night. So get moving, all of you, to the battlements and gates of the walls—hurry, with your full armour! Man the parapets, take your stand on the platforms of the walls, stand firm at the gate entrances, have good confidence, and don't be too afraid of this horde of foreigners. God will bring success!

Exeunt citizens, making for the walls.

I have also acted, sending scouts to spy on the army, and I am sure they are not wasting time on their way. When I have heard from them, I will certainly not be caught by deception.

Enter SCOUT *from the direction of the battlefield.*

SCOUT

Eteocles, most excellent king of the Cadmeans, I come bringing definite news from the army out there; I was myself an eyewitness of what they were doing. Seven men, bold leaders of companies, slaughtered a bull, let its blood run into a black-rimmed shield, and touching the bull's blood with their hands swore an oath by Ares, Enyo,[8] and blood-loving Terror, that they would either bring destruction on the city, sacking the town of the Cadmeans by force, or perish and mix their blood into the soil of this land; and with their own hands, shedding tears, they were

7 The enemy army (elsewhere "Argives") is called "Achaean" again at 324. 8 A war-goddess mentioned together with Ares in *Iliad* 5.592–4.

πρῶς ἅρμ' Ἀδράστου χερσὶν ἔστεφον, δάκρυ
λείβοντες, οἶκτος δ' οὔτις ἦν διὰ στόμα·
σιδηρόφρων γὰρ θυμὸς ἀνδρείᾳ φλέγων
ἔπνει, λεόντων ὡς Ἄρη δεδορκότων.
καὶ τῶνδε πύστις οὐκ ὄκνῳ χρονίζεται,
κληρουμένους δ' ἔλειπον, ὡς πάλῳ λαχὼν
ἕκαστος αὐτῶν πρὸς πύλας ἄγοι λόχον.
πρὸς ταῦτ' ἀρίστους ἄνδρας ἐκκρίτους πόλεως
πυλῶν ἐπ' ἐξόδοισι τάγευσαι τάχος·
ἐγγὺς γὰρ ἤδη πάνοπλος Ἀργείων στρατὸς
χωρεῖ, κονίει, πεδία δ' ἀργηστὴς ἀφρὸς
χραίνει σταλαγμοῖς ἱππικῶν ἐκ πλευμόνων.
σὺ δ' ὥστε ναὸς κεδνὸς οἰακοστρόφος
φάρξαι πόλισμα, πρὶν καταιγίσαι πνοὰς
Ἄρεως—βοᾷ γὰρ κῦμα χερσαῖον στρατοῦ—
καὶ τῶνδε καιρὸν ὅστις ὤκιστος λαβέ·
κἀγὼ τὰ λοιπὰ πιστὸν ἡμεροσκόπον
ὀφθαλμὸν ἕξω, καὶ σαφηνείᾳ λόγου
εἰδὼς τὰ τῶν θύραθεν ἀβλαβὴς ἔσῃ.

ΕΤΕΟΚΛΗΣ

ὦ Ζεῦ τε καὶ Γῆ καὶ πολισσοῦχοι θεοὶ

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9 Adrastus is often himself said to have been one of the Seven (as in Euripides, *Phoenician Maidens* 1134); but he invariably survives the war, and Aeschylus evidently wanted to have all the Seven perish.

adorning the chariot of Adrastus[9] with mementoes of themselves[10] to take home to their parents. But no word of pity passed their lips: there breathed within them a steel-hearted spirit, blazing with courage, like that of lions with the light of war in their eyes. You have not been delayed in learning this by any slowness of mine: I left them drawing lots, so that according to the fall of the lot each should lead his company against a gate. In view of this, you should speedily post men of excellence, the pick of the city, at the entrances of the gates; for the Argive army, fully equipped, is already coming close, raising the dust, and white foam from the horses' lungs is dripping and staining the soil. Be like a good ship's captain and make the city tight, before the squalls of war assail her—for this army is like a roaring land-wave—and take the very quickest opportunity of doing this. For my part, from now on, I will keep a faithful daytime scout's eye out,[11] and through my clear reports you will know what is happening outside and not come to harm.

Exit SCOUT, *by the way he came.*

ETEOCLES

O Zeus, and Earth, and you gods of the city, O mighty

10 Probably locks of hair; on eight vase-paintings (*LIMC* Septem 24–31) datable between 490 and 460, one of the Seven is shown cutting a lock.

11 Implying that his first scouting expedition had been in darkness or at least twilight (cf. 29).

Ἀρά τ' Ἐρινὺς πατρὸς ἡ μεγασθενής,
μή μοι πόλιν γε πρυμνόθεν πανώλεθρον
ἐκθαμνίσητε δῃάλωτον Ἑλλάδος·
ἐλευθέραν δὲ γῆν τε καὶ Κάδμου πόλιν
ζεύγλησι δουλίοισι μήποτε σχεθεῖν·
γένεσθε δ' ἀλκή. ξυνὰ δ' ἐλπίζω λέγειν·
πόλις γὰρ εὖ πράσσουσα δαίμονας τίει.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

< > θρέομαι φοβερὰ μεγάλ' ἄχη·
μεθεῖται στρατὸς στρατόπεδον λιπών·
ῥεῖ πολὺς ὅδε λεὼς πρόδρομος ἱππότας·
αἰθέρια κόνις με πείθει φανεῖσ'
ἄναυδος σαφὴς ἔτυμος ἄγγελος.
†ἑλεδέμας†
πεδί' ὁπλόκτυπ' ὠτὶ χρίμπτει βοάν·
ποταῖται, βρέμει δ' ἀμαχέτου δίκαν
ὕδατος ὀροτύπου.
ἰὼ ἰὼ θεοὶ θεαί τ', ὀρόμενον
κακὸν ἀλεύσατε.

{73} φθόγγον χέουσαν (ὅλβον ῥέοντα γρM^s) καὶ δόμους ἐφεστίους codd.: del. Dawe.

75 ζεύγλησι (or -αισι) *b*: ζυγοῖσ(ι) M I *b k*.

78 <ἰὼ ἰώ> Bergk.

83 ἑλεδέμας M γρΣ^I: ελεδεμνας or ελεδαμνάς (with various accents and breathings) M^s I *b k*: καὶ τὰ τῆς γῆς δέ μου πεδία $Σ^{MV}$, whence ἐπὶ δὲ <γᾶς> ἐμὰς Paley, αἴας <τᾶς> ἐμᾶς Hutchinson. 84 χρίμπτει Ritschl: χρίμπτεται M I *b k*.

87 ἰὼ ἰὼ *k*: ἰὼ ἰὼ ἰὼ vel sim. M I *b k*.

Curse and Fury of my father,[12] do not let my *city*[13] be captured by its foes, do not extirpate it from Greece, root and branch, in utter destruction! Never bind this free land and this free city of Cadmus with the yokestrap of slavery! Be its defence! I believe I am speaking in our common interest; for when a city enjoys success, it honours its gods.

Exit ETEOCLES *towards the walls. The* CHORUS *of Theban maidens enter, from the town, in terror and confusion.*

CHORUS

<Ah, ah,> I cry for great, fearful sufferings!
The army has been let loose, it has left its camp!
This great host of horse is pouring forward at the gallop!
The dust I see in the air shows me it is so,
a voiceless messenger, but true and certain!
The soil <of my land>,
struck by hooves, sends the noise right to my ear!
It's flying, it's roaring like an irresistible
mountain torrent!
Oh, oh, you gods and you goddesses, keep off
the surge of evil!

12 The Furies (Erinyes) seem in early times to have been identified with curses, especially *parental* curses; cf. *Iliad* 9.454, 571, *Odyssey* 2.135; Hesiod, *Theogony* 472. In *Eumenides* 417 the Furies say that "Curses" is their name in their homes beneath the earth.

13 The word πόλιν "city" is given extra stress by the particle γε, implying that Eteocles is prepared to lose his own life so long as the city is saved.

βοὰ ‹ › ὑπὲρ τειχέων·
ὁ λεύκασπις ὄρνυται λαὸς εὐ-
πρεπὴς ἐπὶ πόλιν διώκων ‹πόδα›.
τίς ἄρα ῥύσεται, τίς ἄρ' ἐπαρκέσει
θεῶν ἢ θεᾶν;
πότερα δῆτ' ἐγὼ ‹πάτρια› ποτιπέσω
βρέτη δαιμόνων;
ἰώ, μάκαρες εὔεδροι.
ἀκμάζει βρετέων ἔχεσθαι· τί μέλ-
λομεν ἀγάστονοι;
ἀκούετ' ἢ οὐκ ἀκούετ' ἀσπίδων κτύπον;
πέπλων καὶ στεφέων ‹πότε› ποτ' εἰ μὴ νῦν
ἀμφὶ λιτανὰ ‹βαλεῖν › ἕξομεν;
κτύπον δέδορκα· πάταγος οὐχ ἑνὸς δορός.
τί ῥέξεις; προδώσεις, παλαίχθων
Ἄρης, γᾶν τεάν;
ὦ χρυσοπήληξ δαῖμον, ἔπιδ' ἔπιδε πόλιν
ἂν ποτ' εὐφιλήταν ἔθου.

στρ. α θεοὶ πολιάοχοι χθονὸς, †ἴθ' ἴτε πάντες†,

89 βοὰ *x* Σ^{Th}: βοᾷ M I *b k*: βοᾶ δ' *k*.
89 lacuna posited by Schroeder.
91 ‹πόδα› suppl. Weil. 95 ‹πάτρια› suppl. Volckmann (cf. Σ^{MI} τῶν πατρῴων ξοάνων).
101 ‹πότε› suppl. West.
102 λιτανὰ ‹βαλεῖν› West, cf. Σ^{M} πότε στέφη ῥίψομεν ἢ πέπλους ἐπὶ γῆς: then ‹χρείαν› West (perh. rather e.g. ‹θεοῖς›): λιτάν' Seidler: λιτὰν codd. 108 ἴθ' ἴτε πάντες M^{ac} *b k*: ἴσθ' ἴτε π. *b*: ἴτ' ἴτε π. M^{pc} I *b k*: ἴθ' ἀθρόοι Steusloff.

The noise <of a war-cry comes> over the walls:
the army with their white shields rise
plain to see, coming swift<footed> against the city![14]
Who, who of the gods or goddesses
will protect us, who will ward them off?
Should I, then, fall down before
the <ancestral> images of our gods?
O blest ones, in your fair abode!
Now is the moment to clasp the images: why do we wait
and moan to no purpose?
Do you hear, or do you not, the clatter of shields?
When, when, if not now, shall we be able <to adorn
the gods> with robes and garlands as prayer-offerings?
I see the noise[15]—it is the clatter of many spears!
What do you mean to do, Ares, ancient god
of this land?[16] betray your own country?
God of the golden helmet, watch over, watch over the
city
which you once held worthy of your love!

They approach the shrine, prostrate themselves and embrace the images.

Gods who dwell in this city and land, come hither, all of
you,

14 The enemy infantry have now joined the cavalry (80–4) in the attack.

15 i.e. it creates a vivid picture in my mind's eye.

16 Ares plays a crucial role in the story of the founding of Thebes by Cadmus (the dragon that Cadmus slew and/or the spring which it guarded being sacred to him); he was the father of Cadmus' wife Harmonia.

ἴδετε παρθένων
ἱκέσιον λόχον δουλοσύνας ὕπερ.
κῦμα περὶ πτόλιν δοχμολόφων ἀνδρῶν
καχλάζει πνοαῖς Ἄρεος ὀρόμενον.
ἀλλ', ὦ Ζεῦ πάτερ παντὸς ἔχων τέλος,
πάντως ἄρηξον δαΐων ἅλωσιν.
Ἀργέϊοι δὲ πόλισμα Κάδμου
κυκλοῦνται, φόβος δ' ἀρείων ὅπλων
‹θράσσει›, διὰ δέ τοι γενύων ἱππίων
μινύρονται φόνον χαλινοί·
ἑπτὰ δ' ἀγήνορες πρέποντες στρατοῦ
δορυσσοῖς σαγαῖς πύλαις ἑβδόμαις
προσίστανται πάλῳ λαχόντες.

ἀντ. α σύ τ', ὦ Διογενὲς φιλόμαχον κράτος,
ῥυσίπολις γενοῦ,
Παλλάς, ὅ θ' ἵππιος ποντομέδων ἄναξ
ἰχθυβόλῳ ‹ › μαχανᾷ·
ἐπίλυσιν φόβων, ἐπίλυσιν δίδου·
σύ τ', Ἄρης, φεῦ φεῦ, πόλιν ἐπώνυμον
Κάδμου φύλαξον κήδεσαί τ' ἐναργῶς·
καὶ Κύπρις, ἅτε γένους προμάτωρ,

116 παντὸς ἔχων τέλος West: πάντων ἔχων τέλος Σ^{MI}: παντελές codd. 123 ‹θράσσει› suppl. Ritschl, cf. Σ^{MI} ταράσσει. 124 μινύρονται L. Dindorf, cf. *t*: κιν(ν)ύρονται codd. 133–4 ‹ › μαχανᾷ Hüttemann (‹μέγα σθένων› West): μαχανᾷ Ποσειδᾶν (or -δῶν) codd.

137–8 πόλιν ἐπώνυμον Κάδμου Tucker: ἐπώνυμον Κάδμου πόλιν M: Κάδμου ἐπώνυμον πόλιν I *b k*.

behold this company
of maidens supplicating you to save them from slavery.
A wave of men, their crests at an angle,[17] breaks loudly
over the city, raised up by the blasts of war.
Father Zeus, you who have supreme power over all,
at all costs defend us from capture by our foes!
The Argives are surrounding the city
of Cadmus, and terror of their warlike arms
throws us into confusion; the bits in the horses' cheeks
give forth a piercing whine that tells of slaughter;
and out of the army seven distinguished leaders of men,
assigned by lot, are taking their stand
against the seven gates,
fully armed, brandishing their spears.

O powerful daughter of Zeus, lover of battle,
be the protector of our city,
Pallas! And the lord of horses and ruler of the sea,[18]
with ‹the mighty strength of› his fish-spearing
weapon—
give release, give release from our terror!
And you, Ares—ah, ah!—guard the city
that bears Cadmus' name, and make manifest your care
for it!
And Cypris,[19] you who are the ancestress of our race,

17 The helmet-crests are "nodding" as the warrior moves, a phenomenon that Homer formulaically calls "fearsome" (e.g. *Iliad* 3.337). The expression is probably also designed to evoke the idea of waves breaking obliquely on the hull of a ship.

18 Poseidon.

19 Aphrodite, who was the mother of Harmonia.

ἄλευσον· σέθεν γὰρ ἐξ αἵματος
γεγόναμεν, λιταῖσι δέ σε θεοκλύτοις
ἀυτοῦσαι πελαζόμεσθα·
καὶ σύ, Λύκει᾽ ἄναξ, λύκειος γενοῦ
στρατῷ δαΐῳ· σύ τ᾽, ὦ Λατογένει-
α κούρα, τόξον εὐτυκάζου.

στρ. β ἒ ἒ ἒ ἔ·
ὅτοβον ἁρμάτων ἀμφὶ πόλιν κλύω·
ὦ πότνι᾽ Ἥρα·
ἔλακον ἀξόνων βριθομένων χνόαι·
Ἄρτεμι φίλα·
δορυτίνακτος αἰθὴρ ἐπιμαίνεται.
τί πόλις ἄμμι πάσχει; τί γενήσεται;
ποῖ δ᾽ ἔτι τέλος ἐπάγει θεός;

ἀντ. β ἒ ἒ ἒ ἔ·
ἀκροβόλος δ᾽ ἐπάλξεων λιθὰς ἔρχεται·
ὦ φίλ᾽ Ἄπολλον·
κόναβος ἐν πύλαις χαλκοδέτων σακέων·
παῖ Διός, ὅθεν

144 λιταῖσι (Hermann) δέ σε (Tucker) Diggle: λιταῖς σε M I *b k*: λιταῖς δὲ *b*: λιταῖς *b*.
145 ἀυτοῦσαι Seidler: ἀπύουσαι codd.
147 after δαΐῳ codd. add *στόνων ἀυτᾶς*: del. Hartung.
149 εὐτυκάζου *b*, cf. *t*: ἐντυκάζου I: ἐνστυκάζου M^{pc}: ἐμπυκάζου *b*: εὖ πυκάζου *b k*: [M^{ac}].
149 at end codd. add Ἄρτεμι φίλα (cf. 154): del. Seidler.

keep them away from us! For we are born
of your blood, and we approach you with cries
and prayers that deserve a divine hearing.
And you, Wolf-god,[20] make yourself a wolf
to the enemy army; and you, maiden
born of Leto,[21] make ready your bow.

They utter sharp cries of terror.

I hear the rattle of chariots around the city!
O Lady Hera!
The sockets of their heavy-laden axles are squealing!
Beloved Artemis!
The air is going mad with the brandishing of spears!
What is happening to our city? What will become of it?
What is the ending that god has yet to bring?

They again utter sharp cries of terror.

Now comes the bombardment of stones on the
battlements!
Beloved Apollo!
Clashing of bronze-rimmed shields at the gates!
Child of Zeus,[22] from whom

20 Apollo's title Λύκειον was popularly connected with λύκον "wolf", and Sophocles (*Electra* 6) calls him "the wolf-slaying god".

21 Artemis.

22 Most likely Ares; hardly Athena, who is identified with Onca (164) at 487 and 501.

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159 ἀκροβόλος Ludwig: ἀκροβόλων codd.
162 παῖ Διός, ὅθεν van den Bergh: καὶ Διόθεν codd.

πολεμόκραντον ἀγνὸν τέλος ἐν μάχᾳ,
σύ τε, μάκαιρ᾽ ἄνασσ᾽ Ὄγκα πρὸ πόλεως,
ἑπτάπυλον ἕδος ἐπιρρύου.

στρ. γ ἰὼ παναλκεῖς θεοί,
ἰὼ τέλειοι τέλειαί τε γᾶς
τᾶσδε πυργοφύλακες,
πόλιν δορίπονον μὴ προδῶθ᾽
ἑτεροφώνῳ στρατῷ·
κλύετε παρθένων κλύετε πανδίκως
χειροτόνους λίτας.

ἀντ. γ ἰὼ φίλοι δαίμονες,
λυτήριοί τ᾽ ἀμφιβάντες πόλιν
δείξαθ᾽ ὡς φιλοπόλεις,
μέλεσθε θ᾽ ἱερῶν δαμίων,
μελόμενοι δ᾽ ἀρήξατε·
φιλοθύτων δέ τοι πόλεις ὀργίων
μνήστορες ἔστε μοι.

163–4 μάχᾳ Hermann, σύ τε *z*: μάχαισί τε M I *b k*.
166 παναλκεῖς I *b k* $^{i}\Sigma^{M}$: παναρκεῖς M $^{i}\Sigma^{B}$.
175 τ᾽ Seidler: om. codd.
176 φιλοπόλεις Wunderlich: φιλοπόλιες codd.
177 θ᾽ *k*: δ᾽ M I *b k*: om. *b k*.

comes the clean[23] conclusion to battle that decides a war,
and you, blest queen Onca, dwelling before the city,[24]
protect your seven-gated home.

O gods, you almighty defenders,
O gods and goddesses with decisive power
to guard the walls of this land,
do not betray this city in the toils of battle
to an enemy of alien speech![25]
Do not fail to hear, to hear the prayers
of maidens with uplifted hands!

O beloved gods,
stand over our city to liberate it
and show how you love it,
take heed of the people's worship,
take heed, and defend them;
and be mindful, I beg you,
of the city's loving sacrificial rites.

ETEOCLES re-enters.

23 Greek *ἁγνόν* "holy, pure, free of pollution", possibly hinting at a wish for the god to protect the lives of non-combatants like themselves (the killing of enemies *in battle* did not count as homicide and involved no pollution).

24 The sanctuary of this local goddess was just outside one of the city gates (501–2).

25 The enemy, of course, spoke Greek (though a different dialect or dialects), and worshipped the very same gods; but Aeschylus seems to be inviting the audience to compare Theban fears to their own when facing the Persian invasion of 480.

ΕΤΕΟΚΛΗΣ

ὑμᾶς ἐρωτῶ, θρέμματ᾽ οὐκ ἀνασχετά,
ἦ ταῦτ᾽ ἄριστα καὶ πόλει σωτήρια
στρατῷ τε θάρσος τῷδε πυργηρουμένῳ,
βρέτη πεσούσας πρὸς πολισσούχων θεῶν
αὔειν, λακάζειν, σωφρόνων μισήματα;
μήτ᾽ ἐν κακοῖσι μήτ᾽ ἐν εὐεστοῖ φίλῃ
ξύνοικος εἴην τῷ γυναικείῳ γένει·
κρατοῦσα μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ὁμιλητὸν θράσος,
δείσασα δ᾽ οἴκῳ καὶ πόλει πλέον κακόν.
καὶ νῦν πολίταις τάσδε διαδρόμους φυγὰς
θεῖσαι διερροθήσατ᾽ ἄψυχον κάκην,
τὰ τῶν θύραθεν δ᾽ ὡς ἄριστ᾽ ὀφέλλετε,
αὐτοὶ δ᾽ ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἔνδοθεν πορθούμεθα.
τοιαῦτα τἂν γυναιξὶ συνναίων ἔχοις.
κεἰ μή τις ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐμῆς ἀκούσεται,
ἀνὴρ γυνή τε χὤ τι τῶν μεταίχμιον,
ψῆφος κατ᾽ αὐτῶν ὀλεθρία †βουλεύσεται†,
λευστῆρα δήμου δ᾽ οὔ τι μὴ φύγῃ μόρον.
μέλει γὰρ ἀνδρί, μὴ γυνὴ βουλεύετω,
τἄξωθεν· ἔνδον δ᾽ οὖσα μὴ βλάβην τίθει.
ἤκουσας ἢ οὐκ ἤκουσας; ἢ κωφῇ λέγω;

ΧΟΡΟΣ

στρ. α ὦ φίλον Οἰδίπου τέκος, ἔδεισ᾽ ἀκού-
σασα τὸν ἁρματόκτυπον ὄτοβον ὄτοβον,

195 τἂν (τ᾽ ἂν) *x*: γ᾽ ἂν *k*: (τοιαῦτ᾽) ἂν (or ἐν) I *b k*: M omits the line.

ETEOCLES

I ask you, you insufferable creatures, is this the best policy, does it help save our city, does it give confidence to our beleaguered population, to fall down before the images of the city's gods and cry and howl in a way any sensible person would abhor? Whether in trouble or in welcome prosperity, may I not share my home with the female gender! When a woman is in the ascendant, her effrontery is impossible to live with; when she's frightened, she is an even greater menace to family and city. So now, with you running around in all directions like this, your clamour has spread panic and cowardice among the citizens; you are doing your very best to advance the cause of the enemy outside—the city is being sacked by its own people from within! That's the sort of thing you'll get if you live with women! Now then, if anyone fails to obey my command, whether a man or a woman or anything in between, a vote of death will be passed against them and there is no way they will escape execution by public stoning. Out-of-door affairs are the concern of men; women are not to offer opinions about them. Stay inside and do no harm!

The CHORUS *make no response.*

Did you hear me or not? Or am I talking to the deaf?

CHORUS

Dear son of Oedipus, I was frightened when I heard the sound of the rattle, the rattle of chariots,

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198 *βουλεύσεται* codd.: *κρανθήσεται* Blaydes, cf. ΣHBYD *κυρωθήσεται* and *Supp.* 944.

ὅτε τε σύριγγες ἔκλαγξαν ἑλίτροχοι,
ἱππικῶν τ᾽ ἄπυον πηδαλίων διὰ στόμα
πυριγενεταὶ χαλινοί.

ΕΤΕΟΚΛΗΣ

τί οὖν; ὁ ναύτης ἆρα μὴ ᾽ς πρῷραν φυγὼν
πρύμνηθεν ηὗρε μηχανὴν σωτηρίας
νεὼς καμούσης ποντίῳ πρὸς κύματι;

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἀντ. α ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ δαιμόνων πρόδρομος ἦλθον ἀρ-
χαῖα βρέτη, θεοῖσι πίσυνος, λιθάδος
ὅτ᾽ ὀλοᾶς νειφομένας βρόμος ἐν πύλαις·
δὴ τότ᾽ ἤρθην φόβῳ πρὸς μακάρων λιτάς, πόλεως
ἵν᾽ ὑπερέχοιεν ἀλκάν.

ΕΤΕΟΚΛΗΣ

πύργον στέγειν εὔχεσθε πολέμιον δόρυ;
οὐκοῦν τάδ᾽ ἔσται πρὸς θεῶν· ἀλλ᾽ οὖν θεοὺς
τοὺς τῆς ἁλούσης πόλεος ἐκλείπειν λόγος.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

στρ. β μήποτ᾽ ἐμὸν κατ᾽ αἰῶνα λίποι θεῶν
ἕδε πανάγυρις, μήδ᾽ ἐπίδοιμι τάνδ᾽

205 ὅτε τε Hermann: ὅτε *x*: ὅτι τε M I *b k*: ὅτι *b*.
206 ἄπυον Lachmann: ἀύπνων codd.
207 πυριγενεταὶ χαλινοί Heimsoeth: πυριγενετᾶν χαλινῶν codd.
212 θεοῖσι πίσυνος Blomfield, Seidler: πίσυνος θεοῖς codd.
212 λιθάδος Naber: νιφάδος codd.

and the noise of the whirling sockets of their wheels,
and when the fire-fashioned bits that are horses'
steering-gear
howled in their mouths.

ETEOCLES

So what? A sailor can't, can he, when his ship is in distress
in heavy seas, find an escape from danger by fleeing from
the stern to the bows?

CHORUS

No, I rushed headlong to the ancient images
of the divine ones, trusting in the gods, when there came
the noise
of the deadly blizzard of stones at the gates:
then, then I rose up in fear to pray to the blest ones, that
they
might spread their protection over the city.

ETEOCLES

You are praying for our walls to keep off the enemy attack?
Then that will happen—so far as the gods are concerned.
But then it is said that the gods of a captured city leave it.[26]

CHORUS

Never while I live may this assembled company
of gods desert us, nor may I behold this city

[26] The point seems to be that the gods will not defend a city that makes no real effort to defend itself.

ἀστυδρομουμέναν πόλιν καὶ στρατὸν
δαπτόμενον πυρὶ δαΐῳ.

ΕΤΕΟΚΛΗΣ

μή μοι θεοὺς καλοῦσα βουλεύου κακῶς·
Πειθαρχία γάρ ἐστι τῆς Εὐπραξίας
μήτηρ, γυνὴ Σωτῆρος· ὧδ' ἔχει λόγος.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἀντ. β ἔστι· θεοῦ δ' ἔτ' ἰσχὺς καθυπερτέρα·
πολλάκι δ' ἐν κακοῖσιν τὸν ἀμήχανον
κἀκ χαλεπᾶς δύας ὕπερθ' ὀμμάτων
κριμναμενᾶν νεφελᾶν ὀρθοῖ.

ΕΤΕΟΚΛΗΣ

ἀνδρῶν τάδ' ἐστί, σφάγια καὶ χρηστήρια
θεοῖσιν ἕρδειν πολεμίων πειρωμένους·
σὸν δ' αὖ τὸ σιγᾶν καὶ μένειν εἴσω δόμων.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

στρ. γ διὰ θεῶν πόλιν νεμόμεθ' ἀδάματον,
δυσμενέων δ' ὄχλον πύργος ἀποστέγει.
τίς τάδε νέμεσις στυγεῖ;

221 *στρατὸν* Meineke: *στράτευμ'* codd.
222 *δαπτόμενον* Blaydes (*-αν* Prien): *ἁπτόμενον* codd: *τυφόμενον* γ^{p}M. 227 *τὸν* Σ^{MI} *t*: *τὰν* codd.
231 *πειρωμένους* Weil: *πειρωμένοις* M *b*: *πειρωμένων* I *b k*.
233 *ἀδάματον* Pauw: *ἀδάμαντον* M I *b* Σ^{HBW}: *ἀδάμαστον* *b k*. 235 *τίς* Heath: *τί* codd.

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[27] i.e. Zeus (Soter). To the kind of family relationships here posited between Zeus and two personified abstractions there is a

stormed through by the enemy, and its people
devoured by their fire.

ETEOCLES

Please don't call on the gods while behaving imprudently. Obedience is mother of Success and wife of the Saviour[27]—that's how the saying goes.

CHORUS

True, but the power of god is even mightier:
often amid troubles he sustains the helpless,
even out of the direst straits when the clouds
are hanging over their eyes.

ETEOCLES

This is the business of men, to offer slaughtered sacrifices to the gods[28] when encountering the enemy; your business is to keep quiet and stay in your homes.

CHORUS

It is thanks to the gods that we dwell in an unconquered city
and that our wall keeps off the enemy horde.
What kind of resentment can find that offensive?

close parallel in *IG* ii² 4627 (mid fourth century), a dedication "to Zeus Epiteleios Philios, and the god's mother Philia [Friendship, Affection], and the god's wife Agathe Tyche [Good Fortune]".

28 The reference is to sacrifices (*σφάγια*) offered immediately before going into battle; see W. K. Pritchett, *The Greek State at War* i (Berkeley, 1974) 109–15. However, the fact that such sacrifices, in the nature of the case, could only be offered by men in no way shows that it was not proper for the women of a besieged city to offer collective sacrifice and prayer for its safety (as the women of Troy do, on Hector's advice, at *Iliad* 6.286–311); Eteocles in effect concedes this at 265–70 below.

ΕΤΕΟΚΛΗΣ

οὗτοι φθονῶ σοι δαιμόνων τιμᾶν γένος·
ἀλλ᾽ ὡς πολίτας μὴ κακοσπλάγχνους τιθῇς,
εὔκηλος ἴσθι μηδ᾽ ἄγαν ὑπερφοβοῦ.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἀντ. γ †ποταίνιον κλυοῦσα πάταγον ἄμμιγα†
ταρβοσύνῳ φόβῳ τάνδ᾽ ἐς ἀκρόπτολιν,
τίμιον ἕδος, ἱκόμαν.

ΕΤΕΟΚΛΗΣ

μή νυν, ἐὰν θνήσκοντας ἢ τετρωμένους
πύθησθε, κωκυτοῖσιν ἁρπαλίζετε·
τούτῳ γὰρ Ἄρης βόσκεται, φόνῳ βροτῶν.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

καὶ μὴν ἀκούω γ᾽ ἱππικῶν φρυαγμάτων.

ΕΤΕΟΚΛΗΣ

μή νυν ἀκούουσ᾽ ἐμφανῶς ἄκου᾽ ἄγαν.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

στένει πόλισμα γῆθεν, ὡς κυκλούμενων.

ΕΤΕΟΚΛΗΣ

οὔκουν ἔμ᾽ ἀρκεῖ τῶνδε βουλεύειν πέρι;

ΧΟΡΟΣ

δέδοικ᾽· ἀραγμὸς δ᾽ ἐν πύλαις ὀφέλλεται.

239 ποταίνιον . . . ἄμμιγα M: ποταίνιον . . . ἅμα I *b k*: ποτανὸν (Blomfield) . . . ἅμ᾽ ἰᾷ West: ἅμα ποταίνιον κλύουσα πάταγον Murray.

ETEOCLES

I don't at all resent your honouring the race of gods. But in order to avoid making our citizens lose heart, be calm and don't get too excessively frightened.

CHORUS

As soon as I heard that unprecedented din[29]
I came in terrified fear to this citadel,
this glorious divine abode.

ETEOCLES

Well then, if you learn of men wounded or dying, don't greet the news with wailing. That is what Ares feeds on—the killing of human beings.

CHORUS

Listen, I can hear the neighing of horses!

ETEOCLES

Well, if you can hear them, don't over-publicize the fact.

CHORUS

The city is groaning to its foundations—we're encircled!

ETEOCLES

I'm capable enough of deciding myself how to deal with this.

CHORUS

I'm frightened! And the clatter at the gates gets louder and louder.

29 The text is uncertain, and this rendering gives the approximate sense only.

ΕΤΕΟΚΛΗΣ

οὐ σῖγα μηδὲν τῶνδ' ἐρεῖς κατὰ πτόλιν;

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ὦ ξυντέλεια, μὴ προδῷς πυργώματα.

ΕΤΕΟΚΛΗΣ

οὐκ εἰς φθόρον σιγῶσ' ἀνασχήσῃ τάδε;

ΧΟΡΟΣ

θεοὶ πολῖται, μή με δουλείας τυχεῖν.

ΕΤΕΟΚΛΗΣ

αὐτὴ σὲ δουλοῖς κἀμὲ καὶ πᾶσαν πόλιν.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ὦ παγκρατὲς Ζεῦ, τρέψον εἰς ἐχθροὺς βέλος.

ΕΤΕΟΚΛΗΣ

ὦ Ζεῦ, γυναικῶν οἷον ὤπασας γένος.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

μοχθηρόν, ὥσπερ ἄνδρας ὧν ἁλῷ πόλις.

ΕΤΕΟΚΛΗΣ

παλινστομεῖς αὖ θιγγάνουσ' ἀγαλμάτων;

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἀψυχίᾳ γὰρ γλῶσσαν ἁρπάζει φόβος.

254 σὲ Blomfield: σὺ codd.

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30 i.e. you are making defeat, and therefore your enslavement, more likely.

ETEOCLES

Will you not keep quiet, instead of talking all about it in public?

CHORUS

Assembled gods, do not betray our walls!

ETEOCLES

Can't you put up with it in silence, confound you?

CHORUS

Gods of my city, let me not fall into slavery!

ETEOCLES

You're putting *yourself* into slavery, and me, and the whole city.[30]

CHORUS

Almighty Zeus, direct your bolts against the enemy!

ETEOCLES

Zeus, what a race you've given us for company, these women!

CHORUS

A wretched one—just like men when their city is captured.

ETEOCLES

Saying ill-omened words again, are you, while touching the images?[31]

CHORUS

Because of my lack of courage, fear seized hold of my tongue.

31 Words gained added force and effectiveness if their speaker was in contact with something sacred (a divine image, an altar, the parts of a sacrificial victim, etc.); so *ill-omened* words uttered in such circumstances might be doubly damaging.

ΕΤΕΟΚΛΗΣ

αἰτουμένῳ μοι κοῦφον εἰ δοίης τέλος.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

λέγοις ἂν ὡς τάχιστα, καὶ τάχ᾽ εἴσομαι.

ΕΤΕΟΚΛΗΣ

σίγησον, ὦ τάλαινα, μὴ φίλους φόβει.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

σιγῶ· ξὺν ἄλλοις πείσομαι τὸ μόρσιμον.

ΕΤΕΟΚΛΗΣ

τοῦτ᾽ ἀντ᾽ ἐκείνων τοὔπος αἱροῦμαι σέθεν.
καὶ πρός γε τούτοις ἐκτὸς οὖσ᾽ ἀγαλμάτων
εὔχου τὰ κρείσσω, ξυμμάχους εἶναι θεούς·
κἀμῶν ἀκούσασ᾽ εὐγμάτων ἔπειτα σὺ
ὀλολυγμὸν ἱερὸν εὐμενῆ παιώνισον,
Ἑλληνικὸν νόμισμα θυστάδος βοῆς,
θάρσος φίλοις, λύουσα πολέμιον φόβον.
ἐγὼ δὲ χώρας τοῖς πολισσούχοις θεοῖς,
πεδιονόμοις τε κἀγορᾶς ἐπισκόποις,
Δίρκης τε πηγὰς ὕδατί θ᾽ Ἰσμηνοῦ λέγω,
εὖ ξυντυχόντων καὶ πόλεως σεσωμένης
μήλοισιν αἱμάσσοντας ἑστίας θεῶν

273 ὕδατί θ᾽ (τ᾽) Geel, Ἰσμηνοῦ Groeneboom: οὐδ᾽ ἀπ᾽ Ἰσμηνοῦ codd.

{276} ταυροκτονοῦντας (ταυροκτονῶν τε I) θεοῖσιν ὧδ᾽ ἐπεύχομαι codd.: del. Ritschl.

ETEOCLES

If you could comply with a slight request I have . . .

CHORUS

Please explain it right away, and I'll soon understand.

ETEOCLES

Be silent, you poor fool, and don't terrify your own side.

CHORUS

I'll be silent; along with the rest I will endure what fate may bring.

ETEOCLES

I accept this word of yours, in preference to your earlier words. Now, in addition to that, get away from the images and utter a better prayer—that the gods should fight *alongside* us.[32] Listen to my prayer, and then utter the sacred, auspicious ululation of triumph, the customary Hellenic cry at sacrifices,[33] to give confidence to our friends and dispel their fear of the foe. I say to the gods who inhabit this land, both those who dwell in the plains and those who watch over the market-place, and to the springs of Dirce and the waters of Ismenus,[34] that if all turns out well and the city is saved, we will redden the altars of the gods with the blood of sheep, set up monuments of victory,

[32] i.e. do not speak as if the gods were to do all the fighting themselves.

[33] The ὀλολυγμός, a cry of joy uttered (normally by women) at the slaughter of a sacrificial beast and on other occasions, often to hail a victory (e.g. *Ag.* 28, 1236; *Cho.* 942).

[34] The two river(-god)s of Thebes.

θήσειν τροπαῖα †πολεμίων δ' ἐσθήμασι†
λάφυρα δᾴων δουρίπληχθ' ἁγνοῖς δόμοις.
τοιαῦτ' ἐπεύχου μὴ φιλοστόνως θεοῖς,
μηδ' ἐν ματαίοις κἀγρίοις ποιφύγμασιν·
οὐ γάρ τι μᾶλλον μὴ φύγῃς τὸ μόρσιμον.
ἐγὼ δέ γ' ἄνδρας ἓξ ἐμοὶ ξὺν ἑβδόμῳ
ἀντηρέτας ἐχθροῖσι †τὸν μέγαν τρόπον†
εἰς ἑπτατειχεῖς ἐξόδους τάξω μολών,
πρὶν ἀγγέλου σπερχνούς τε καὶ ταχυρρόθους
λόγους ἱκέσθαι καὶ φλέγειν χρείας ὕπο.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

στρ. α μέλει, φόβῳ δ' οὐχ ὑπνώσσει κέαρ·
γείτονες δὲ καρδίας
μέριμναι ζωπυροῦσι τάρβος
τὸν ἀμφιτειχῆ λεών,
δράκοντας ὥς τις τέκνων
ὑπερδέδοικεν λεχαίων δυσευνάτορας
πάντρομος πελειάς.
τοὶ μὲν γὰρ ποτὶ πύργους
πανδαμεὶ πανομιλεὶ

277 *θήσειν* M I *b k*: *θύσειν b*.
277 *πολεμίων* δ' (*τ'* I) *ἐσθήμασι* (M Σ^{I}: *-μάτων b*: *-μάτα* M^{s} I *b k*) codd.: an infinitive is needed (so Hutchinson), e.g. *‹κἀναπήξεσθαι ∪–›*.
after 278 M *k'* Σ^{I} add *στέψω πρὸ ναῶν*, M Σ^{I} further add *πολεμίων δ' ἐσθήματα*. 282 δέ γ' anon.: δ' ἐπ' codd.
285 *ἀγγέλου b*: *ἀγγέλους* M I *b k*.
291 δράκοντας Bothe: δράκοντα δ' M I *b k*: δράκονθ' *b*.

<and fix[35]> the spoils of the enemy, gained by the stroke of the spear, in their holy temples. Make prayers like that to the gods, not mournfully, nor with wild, useless pantings—they won't make it any less impossible for you to avoid what is fated. For myself, I will go and station six men, with myself as the seventh, to combat[36] the enemy < >[37] at the seven entrances to the walls, before a messenger comes with a flurry of hasty, noisy words and causes a crisis that sets all ablaze.

He leaves, making for the walls. The CHORUS *leave the shrine and take up their formation in the orchestra.*

CHORUS

I heed your words, but terror will not let my soul sleep:
close to my heart
thoughts are kindling fear
of the host around the walls,
as a dove, all trembling,
fears the snakes that make evil companions
for the chicks sleeping in her nest.
For some of them march against the walls
in full strength, in full mass—

35 The text hereabouts has been corrupted by the intrusion of glosses, but this is likely to be the approximate sense.

36 Literally "as rowers against", another of the play's ubiquitous nautical metaphors.

37 The transmitted text means "in the big manner", which gives no suitable sense; it is probably part of a note which has displaced the original text.

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292 λεχαίων Lachmann, cf. Σ^{MI}: λεχέων codd.

στείχουσιν—τί γένωμαι;—
τοὶ δ' ἐπ' ἀμφιβόλοισιν
ἰάπτουσι πολίταις
χερμάδ' ὀκριόεσσαν.
παντὶ τρόπῳ, Διογενεῖς
θεοί, πόλιν καὶ στρατὸν
Καδμογενῆ ῥύεσθε.

ἀντ. α ποῖον δ' ἀμείψεσθε γαίας πέδον
τᾶσδ' ἄρειον, ἐχθροῖς
ἀφέντες τὰν βαθύχθον' αἶαν
ὕδωρ τε Διρκαῖον, εὐ-
τραφέστατον πωμάτων
ὅσων ἴησιν Ποσειδὰν ὁ γαιάοχος
Τηθύος τε παῖδες;
πρὸς τάδ', ὦ πολιοῦχοι
θεοί, τοῖσι μὲν ἔξω
πύργων ἀνδρολέτειραν
κάκαν, ῥίψοπλον ἄταν,
ἐμβαλόντες ἄροισθε
κῦδος τοῖσδε πολίταις,
καὶ πόλεως ῥύτορες ἔστ'

315 *κάκαν ῥ-* Hermann: *καὶ τὰν ῥ-* M^{s} I *b k*: *καταρρ-* M.
318 *ἔστ'* Headlam: om. codd.

what is to become of me?—
while others hurl
jagged stones at the people of the city,
attacked from all sides.
In every way, you gods
of the family of Zeus, protect the city and people
of the family of Cadmus!

What land on earth can you take in exchange
that is better than this, if you abandon
to the enemy this land of deep soil
and the water of Dirce,
the best drink for rearing
of all the streams sent forth by Poseidon the Earth-
Encircler
and by the children of Tethys?[38]
Bearing this in mind, you gods
of the city, cast
upon those outside the walls
the cowardice that destroys men, the panic that makes
them
throw away their arms, and win
glory for these citizens,[39]
be saviours of the city

38 Tethys and Oceanus were the parents of all rivers (Hesiod, *Theogony* 337–45, 367–70).

39 This paradoxical expression is based on *Iliad* 16.84 where Achilles, who is not going out to fight, tells Patroclus, who is, to "win glory for me"; similarly here the chorus expect that the gods will do the work and the Thebans will get the credit.

εὔεδροί τε στάθητ'
ὀξυγόοις λιταῖσιν.

στρ. β οἰκτρὸν γὰρ πόλιν ὧδ' ὠγυγίαν
Ἀΐδᾳ προϊάψαι, δορὸς ἄγραν
δουλίαν, ψαφαρᾷ σποδῷ
ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς Ἀχαιοῦ θεόθεν
περθομέναν ἀτίμως,
τὰς δὲ κεχειρωμένας ἄγεσθαι,
ἦ ἔ, νέας τε καὶ παλαιάς
ἱππηδὸν πλοκάμων, περιρ-
ρηγνυμένων φαρέων· βοᾷ δ'
ἐκκενουμένα πόλις
λαΐδος οὐλομένας μειξοθρόου.
βαρείας τοι τύχας προταρβῶ.

ἀντ. β κλαυτὸν δ' ἀρτιτρόφους ὠμοδρόπους
νομίμων προπάροιθεν διαμεῖψαι
δωμάτων στυγερὰν ὁδόν·
καὶ τὸν φθίμενον γὰρ προλέγω
βέλτερα τῶνδε πράσσειν.
πολλὰ γάρ, εὖτε πτόλις δαμασθῇ,

331 οὐλομένας Hutchinson: ὀλλυμένας codd.
333 -τρόφους Page (-τρόφοις Korais): -τρόποις codd.: -δρόποις M^s γρΣM. 333 -δρόπους Heimsoeth: -δρόπων M I *b k*: -δρόμων *b*: -τρόπων *b k*. 336 καὶ Hutchinson: τί codd.: ἦ Page.
338 πτόλις *x*: πόλις M I *b k*.

and stay in your fair abode
in response to our shrill, wailing prayers.

For it is pitiful that so ancient a city
should be cast down to Hades, the enslaved plunder
of the spear, contemptuously ravaged
and turned to flaky ashes
by an Achaean man,[40] with divine permission,
while the women are taken captive and led away—
ah, ah!—young and old together,
dragged by their hair like horses,[41]
their clothes being torn off, and the city
cries out as it is emptied
of this wretched plunder from which rises a mingled[42]
clamour.
Grievous indeed is the fate I fear!

And it is lamentable when those just reared[43] are
plucked unripe
and traverse, before the lawful time,
a hateful path away from their homes:
I declare that even the dead
fare better than they do.
For a city when it is conquered—

40 Presumably referring to Adrastus.

41 The comparison is to an unharnessed horse being led by its mane.

42 "Mingled" because the "plunder" consists of females of all ages (327).

43 The reference is to maidens forced to leave their homes prematurely as slave-concubines instead of leaving them in due time for a lawful marriage.

ἓ ἔ, δυστυχῆ τε πράσσει·
ἄλλος δ' ἄλλον ἄγει, φονεύ-
ει, τὰ δὲ πυρπολεῖ· καπνῷ
χραίνεται πόλισμ' ἅπαν·
μαινόμενος δ' ἐπιπνεῖ λαοδάμας
μιαίνων εὐσέβειαν Ἄρης.

στρ. γ κορκορυγαὶ δ' ἀν' ἄστυ, περὶ δ' ὀρκάνα
πυργῶτις, πρὸς ἀνδρὸς δ' ἀνὴρ
†δορὶ† καίνεται·
βλαχαὶ δ' αἱματόεσσαι
τῶν ἐπιμαστιδίων
ἀρτιτρεφεῖς βρέμονται.
ἁρπαγαὶ δὲ διαδρομᾶν ὁμαίμονες·
ξυμβολεῖ φέρων φέροντι
καὶ κενὸς κενὸν καλεῖ
ξύννομον θέλων ἔχειν,
οὔτε μεῖον οὔτ' ἴσον λελιμμένοι.
†τί ἐκ τῶνδ' εἰκάσαι λόγος† πάρα;

341 *πυρπολεῖ* Heimsoeth: *πυρφορεῖ* codd.
342 *χραίνεται* Pauw: δὲ *χραίνεται* codd.
345 *περὶ* Wilamowitz: *ποτὶ* Hermann: *ποτὶ πτόλιν* (M I, *πόλιν b k*) codd.
347 δορὶ codd.: ‹*ἀμφὶ*› δορὶ Hermann: δουρὶ *κατα-* Paley: perh. *δουρικμὴς*, cf. *Cho.* 365.
356 *τί* (M: *τίς b*: *τίν'* I *b k*) *ἐκ τῶνδ' εἰκάσαι* λόγος codd.: *τί ἐκ τῶνδ' ἄλγος εἰκάσαι* Stinton, cf. Σ^{MI} *τί δεῖ ὑπονοῆσαι ἐκ τούτων ἢ πένθη καὶ συμφοράς;*

ah, ah!—suffers many disasters.
One man leads another captive, or slays,
or ravages with fire; the whole city
is besmirched with smoke,
and over it blows the blast of the raging subduer of hosts,
Ares, defiling piety.

There is tumult throughout the town; it is enclosed all round
as if by a solid wall;[44] man is slain
by man with the spear;
loud, bloody screams
rise up from infants
fresh from the nourishing breast.
And Pillage is there, sister to Rampage:
plunderer meets plunderer
and plunderless calls to plunderless
wanting to have him as a colleague—
they desire neither a lesser nor an equal share.[45]
What sufferings may one guess will follow that?[46]

44 This does not refer to the wall of the city itself; the enemy are envisaged as stationing troops to encircle the city after its capture and prevent the escape of survivors.

45 Compared with the successful plunderers of 352, or compared with each other?

46 The transmitted text is unintelligible, but the scholiast evidently read a text with approximately the meaning given here.

ἀντ. γ παντοδαπὸς δὲ καρπὸς χαμάδις πεσὼν
ἀλγύνει κυρήσας πικρῶν
ὄμμα θαλαμηπόλων,
πολλὰ δ' ἀκριτόφυρτος
γᾶς δόσις οὐτιδανοῖς
ἐν ῥοθίοις φορεῖται.
δμωΐδες δὲ καινοπήμονες †νέαι
τλήμονες† εὐνὰν αἰχμάλωτον
ἀνδρὸς εὐτυχοῦντος, ὡς
δυσμενοῦς ὑπερτέρου
ἐλπίς ἐστὶ νύκτερον τέλος μολεῖν
παγκλαύτων ἀλγέων ἐπίρροθον.

— ὅ τοι κατόπτης, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, στρατοῦ
πευθώ τιν' ἡμῖν, ὦ φίλαι, νέαν φέρει,
σπουδῇ διώκων πομπίμους χνόας ποδῶν.
— καὶ μὴν ἄναξ ὅδ' αὐτός, Οἰδίπου τόκος,
εἰς ἀρτίκολλον ἀγγέλου λόγον μαθεῖν·
σπουδὴ δὲ καὶ τοῦδ' οὐκ ἀπαρτίζει πόδα.

358–9 *πικρῶν ὄμμα* Wellauer: *πικρὸν δ' ὄμμα* codd.: *πικρὸν δῶμα* Page.
363–4 *νέαι τλήμονες* codd.: a verb is required (*οἴσουσι* Σ[M]): perh. ‹*τάχ'*› *οἴσουσιν* or *διοίσουσιν*.
373 *εἰσ* M, *ἐς b*: *εἶσ'* I *b k*.

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47 The new "storekeepers" of the grain are the enemy soldiers—who let it go to waste.

48 A phrase of roughly this meaning (as the scholium in M indicates) has been replaced in the mss. by *νέαι τλήμονες*,

Grain of every sort, spilled on the ground,
pains the eye, having acquired
unfriendly storekeepers;[47]
and the earth's rich gifts
in mingled confusion are blown about
in gusts of worthless trash.
Slave-girls new to suffering
<will soon be enduring>[48] a captive coupling
with a lucky man, for
they can expect to come to a nocturnal consummation
with the dominating enemy,
the climax[49] of their utterly wretched afflictions.

The SCOUT *is seen returning in haste.*

A VOICE FROM THE CHORUS

It seems to me, you know, my dears, that the scout is bringing us fresh news of the army: he is forcing the sockets of his feet to move him rapidly.

ETEOCLES is seen returning in haste from the opposite direction; attendants follow, carrying his armour.

ANOTHER VOICE

And here is the king himself, the son of Oedipus, just at the precise time to learn what the messenger has to say: speed is making his gait uneven, too.

apparently a combination of a gloss on *καινο-* and a variant on *-πήμονες*.

[49] *ἐπίρροθος*, which usually means "helper", seems here to have been re-etymologized to bear the sense "additional wave", in keeping with the play's pervasive image of a storm-tossed ship.

ΚΑΤΑΣΚΟΠΟΣ

λέγοιμ᾽ ἂν εἰδὼς εὖ τὰ τῶν ἐναντίων,
ὥς τ᾽ ἐν πύλαις ἕκαστος εἵληχεν πάλον.
Τυδεὺς μὲν ἤδη πρὸς πύλαισι Προιτίσιν
βρέμει, πόρον δ᾽ Ἰσμηνὸν οὐκ ἐᾷ περᾶν
ὁ μάντις· οὐ γὰρ σφάγια γίγνεται καλά.
Τυδεὺς δὲ μαργῶν καὶ μάχης λελιμμένος
μεσημβριναῖς κλαγγαῖσιν ὡς δράκων βοᾷ,
θείνει δ᾽ ὀνείδει μάντιν Οἰκλείδην σοφόν,
σαίνειν μόρον τε καὶ μάχην ἀψυχίᾳ.
τοιαῦτ᾽ ἀϋτῶν τρεῖς κατασκίους λόφους
σείει, κράνους χαίτωμ᾽, ὑπ᾽ ἀσπίδος δὲ τῷ
χαλκήλατοι κλάζουσι κώδωνες φόβον.
ἔχει δ᾽ ὑπέρφρον σῆμ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἀσπίδος τόδε,
φλέγονθ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἄστροις οὐρανὸν τετυγμένον·
λαμπρὰ δὲ πανσέληνος ἐν μέσῳ σάκει,
πρέσβιστον ἄστρων, νυκτὸς ὀφθαλμός, πρέπει.
τοιαῦτ᾽ ἀλύων ταῖς ὑπερκόμποις σαγαῖς
βοᾷ παρ᾽ ὄχθαις ποταμίαις μάχης ἐρῶν,
ἵππος χαλινῶν ὡς κατασθμαίνων μένει,
ὅστις βοὴν σάλπιγγος ὁρμαίνει μένων.
τίν᾽ ἀντιτάξεις τῷδε; τίς Προίτου πυλῶν
κλῄθρων λυθέντων προστατεῖν φερέγγυος;

ΕΤΕΟΚΛΗΣ

κόσμον μὲν ἀνδρὸς οὔτιν᾽ ἂν τρέσαιμ᾽ ἐγώ,
οὐδ᾽ ἑλκοποιὰ γίγνεται τὰ σήματα·
λόφοι δὲ κώδων τ᾽ οὐ δάκνουσ᾽ ἄνευ δορός.

SCOUT

I can state from accurate knowledge the dispositions of the enemy, and how each has received his allotted station at the gates. Tydeus is already growling near the Proetid Gate, but the prophet[50] is not allowing him to cross the river Ismenus, because the sacrifices are not giving good signs. Tydeus, lusting madly for battle, is screaming like a snake hissing at midday,[51] and is belabouring the wise prophet, the son of Oecles, with insults, saying that he is cringeing before death and battle through cowardice. As he utters these cries he shakes three crests casting long shadows, the mane of his helmet, and on the underside of his shield bells of beaten bronze make a terrifying clang. Fashioned upon his shield he bears this proud device: a blazing firmament, full of stars. Conspicuous in the centre of the shield is a brilliant full moon, the greatest of the stars, the eye of night. Raving thus, in his boastful armour, he screams by the banks of the river, longing for battle, like a horse panting against the force of bit and bridle and impatiently awaiting the sound of the trumpet. Whom will you station to oppose this man? Who can be relied on to stand before Proetus' Gate when its bolts are undrawn?

ETEOCLES

I would not tremble at the accoutrements of any man; and shield-devices cannot inflict wounds, nor can crests or

50 Amphiaraus.

51 Snakes were thought to be most active in the noonday heat.

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394 *ὁρμαίνει μένων* M I *b*: *ὁρμαίνων μένει k*: *ὁρμαίνει κλύων* Brunck, cf. ΣMI *σάλπιγγος ἀκούων*.

καὶ νύκτα ταύτην ἣν λέγεις ἐπ᾽ ἀσπίδος
ἄστροισι μαρμαίρουσαν οὐρανοῦ κυρεῖν,
τάχ᾽ ἂν γένοιτο μάντις ἀνοία τινί.
εἰ γὰρ θανόντι νὺξ ἐπ᾽ ὄμμασιν πέσοι,
τῷ τοι φέροντι σῆμ᾽ ὑπέρκομπον τόδε
γένοιτ᾽ ἂν ὀρθῶς ἐνδίκως τ᾽ ἐπώνυμον,
καὐτὸς καθ᾽ αὑτοῦ τήνδ᾽ ὕβριν μαντεύσεται.
ἐγὼ δὲ Τυδεῖ κεδνὸν Ἀστακοῦ τόκον
τῶνδ᾽ ἀντιτάξω προστάτην πυλωμάτων,
μάλ᾽ εὐγενῆ τε καὶ τὸν Αἰσχύνης θρόνον
τιμῶντα καὶ στυγοῦνθ᾽ ὑπέρφρονας λόγους·
αἰσχρῶν γὰρ ἀργός, μὴ κακὸς δ᾽ εἶναι φιλεῖ.
σπαρτῶν δ᾽ ἀπ᾽ ἀνδρῶν, ὧν Ἄρης ἐφείσατο,
ῥίζωμ᾽ ἀνεῖται, κάρτα δ᾽ ἔστ᾽ ἐγχώριος,
Μελάνιππος· ἔργον δ᾽ ἐν κύβοις Ἄρης κρινεῖ·
Δίκη δ᾽ ὁμαίμων κάρτα νιν προστέλλεται
εἴργειν τεκούσῃ μητρὶ πολέμιον δόρυ.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

στρ. α τὸν ἀμὸν νυν ἀντίπαλον εὐτυχεῖν
θεοὶ δοῖεν, ὡς δίκαιος πόλεως
πρόμαχος ὄρνυται· τρέμω δ᾽ αἱματη-
φόρους μόρους ὑπὲρ φίλων
ὀλομένων ἰδέσθαι.

403 ὄμμασιν ΣMI: ὀφθαλμοῖς codd.
408 τῶνδ᾽ Grotius: τόνδ᾽ codd.
418 δίκαιος ΣP Pd Ya, Pauw: δικαίως codd. Σcett.

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52 He means the folly of Tydeus in choosing such a device for

bells hurt without a spear. As for this "night" which you say is on his shield, glittering with the stars of heaven—well, perhaps someone's folly[52] may prove prophetic. For if the night of death should fall on his eyes, then this boastful device would prove to be rightly and properly true to its name for its bearer, and he will have made this arrogant prophecy against himself. I will post against Tydeus, as defender of this gate, the brave son of Astacus, a man of very noble birth and one who honours the throne of Modesty and hates arrogant words; for he never does a shameful deed, and to be cowardly is not his way. He is a scion arising from the Sown Men whom Ares spared,[53] and a man of this land through and through—Melanippus. Ares will decide the issue with his dice; but it is very much the just duties of kinship that send him forth to protect the mother that bore him[54] from the enemy's spear.

CHORUS

May the gods grant good fortune to him who contends
on my behalf, for he is standing up
to be a righteous defender of the city! But I tremble
to see the bloody deaths of men who perish
fighting for their dear ones.

his shield—but the words may eventually come to have an ironic application to himself.

53 The "Sown Men" were the warriors who sprang from the dragon's teeth which Cadmus sowed in the soil of Thebes (hence "a man of this land through and through") at the time when he founded the city; they fought each other (hence the reference to Ares) until only five remained, and these became the ancestors of the noblest families of Thebes. See [Apollodorus], *Library* 2.4.1.

54 i.e. the land of Thebes; cf. 16–20.

ΚΑΤΑΣΚΟΠΟΣ

τούτῳ μὲν οὕτως εὐτυχεῖν δοῖεν θεοί.
Καπανεὺς δ' ἐπ' Ἠλέκτραισιν εἴληχεν πύλαις.
γίγας ὅδ' ἄλλος, τοῦ πάρος λελεγμένου
μείζων, ὁ κόμπος δ' οὐ κατ' ἄνθρωπον φρονεῖ.
θεοῦ τε γὰρ θέλοντος ἐκπέρσειν πόλιν
καὶ μὴ θέλοντός φησιν, οὐδὲ τὴν Διὸς
ἔριν πέδῳ σκήψασαν ἐμποδὼν σχεθεῖν·
τὰς δ' ἀστραπάς τε καὶ κεραυνίους βολὰς
μεσημβρινοῖσι θάλπεσιν προσῄκασεν.
ἔχει δὲ σῆμα γυμνὸν ἄνδρα πυρφόρον,
φλέγει δὲ λαμπὰς διὰ χερῶν ὡπλισμένη·
χρυσοῖς δὲ φωνεῖ γράμμασιν "πρήσω πολιν".
τοιῷδε φωτὶ πέμπε—τίς ξυστήσεται;
τίς ἀνδρα κομπάζοντα μὴ τρέσας μενεῖ;

ΕΤΕΟΚΛΗΣ

καὶ τῷδε κέρδει κέρδος ἄλλο τίκτεται.
τῶν τοι ματαίων ἀνδράσιν φρονημάτων
ἡ γλῶσσ' ἀληθὴς γίγνεται κατήγορος.
Καπανεὺς δ' ἀπειλεῖ δρᾶν παρεσκευασμένοις·
θεοὺς ἀτίζων κἀπογυμνάζων στόμα
χαρᾷ ματαίᾳ θνητὸς ὢν εἰς οὐρανὸν
πέμπει γεγωνὰ Ζηνὶ κυμαίνονθ' ἕπη.
πέποιθα δ' αὐτῷ ξὺν δίκῃ τὸν πυρφόρον

{426} πύργοις δ' ἀπειλεῖ δεῖν', ἃ μὴ κραίνοι (M *k*: κράνοι I *b k*) τύχη codd.: del. Lachmann.

440 παρεσκευασμένοις Weil: -μένος codd.

SCOUT

So indeed may the gods grant him good fortune! Capaneus has been allotted the position at the Electran Gate. This second one is a giant,[55] bigger than the man previously mentioned,[56] and his boasts show a pride beyond human limits; for he says that he will sack the city, god willing or unwilling, and that not even the weapons of Zeus crashing down to earth will stand in his way or hold him back—he compares the lightnings and thunderbolts to the heat of the noonday sun. As his device he bears a naked man carrying fire: the torch with which he is armed blazes in his hands, and in golden letters he declares "I will burn the city". Against such a man you must send—but who can stand against him? Who will await without panic the onset of this braggart man?

ETEOCLES

Now our first gain has given birth to yet another:[57] men's foolish pride, you see, finds a truthful accuser in their own tongues. Capaneus is *voicing* threats against men who are ready to *act*. With contempt for the gods he takes a foolish joy, mortal as he is, in exercising his mouth by sending up to heaven loud, seething words against Zeus: I am certain that he will get his deserts, when something does come to

55 Implying both "of great size" and "an enemy of the gods".

56 Tydeus was a smallish man (*Iliad* 5.801).

57 Meaning that the self-defeating arrogance of Capaneus augurs as well for the Thebans as did its predecessor, the self-defeating arrogance of Tydeus.

ἥξειν κεραυνόν, οὐδὲν ἐξεικασμένον.
ἀνὴρ δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ, κεἰ στόμαργός ἐστ' ἄγαν,
αἴθων τέτακται λῆμα, Πολυφόντου βία,
φερέγγυον φρούρημα προστατηρίας
Ἀρτέμιδος εὐνοίαισι σύν τ' ἄλλοις θεοῖς.
λέγ' ἄλλον ἄλλαις ἐν πύλαις εἰληχότα.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἀντ. α ὄλοιθ' ὃς πόλει μεγάλ' ἐπεύχεται,
κεραυνοῦ δέ νιν βέλος ἐπισχέθοι
πρὶν ἐμὸν εἰσθορεῖν δόμον πωλικῶν θ'
ἑδωλίων μ' ὑπερκόπῳ
δορί ποτ' ἐκλαπάξαι.

ΚΑΤΑΣΚΟΠΟΣ

λέξω· τρίτῳ γὰρ Ἐτεόκλῳ τρίτος πάλος
ἐξ ὑπτίου πήδησεν εὐχάλκου κράνους,
πύλαισι Νηΐσταισι προσβαλεῖν λόχον.
ἵππους δ' ἐν ἀμπυκτῆρσιν ἐμβριμωμένας
δινεῖ, θελούσας πρὸς πύλαις πεπτωκέναι·
φιμοὶ δὲ συρίζουσι βάρβαρον τρόπον
μυκτηροκόμποις πνεύμασιν πληρούμεναι.

{446} μεσημβρινοῖσι θάλπεσιν τοὶς ἡλίου codd.: del. Verrall.
453 νιν Brunck: μιν codd.
455 μ' Hermann, cf. ΣI: om. codd.
{457} καὶ μὴν τὸν ἐντεῦθεν λαχόντα πρὸς πύλαις codd.: del. Wolf.
460 Νηΐστ- Mac b: Νηΐτ- Mpc I b k.

him "carrying fire"—the thunderbolt,[58] and not a mere image of it either. Excessively loud-mouthed he may be, but a man has been posted against him who is fiery in spirit, powerful Polyphontes, who will be a reliable defender with the goodwill of Artemis the Protectress[59] and the aid of the other gods. Name another man who has been allotted to another gate.

CHORUS

May he perish, he who makes these great boastful
threats against the city!
May the thunderbolt stop him
before ever he leaps upon my house
and plunders me by arrogant armed force
from my maiden abode!

SCOUT

I will name him. The third man, for whom the third lot sprang out of the upturned helmet of fine bronze, to lead his company against the Neïstan Gate, is Eteoclus. He is circling with his horses, who are snorting in their harness, eager to fall upon the gate; their muzzles, filled with the breath of their proud nostrils, are whistling a barbarian

58 Capaneus was killed by a thunderbolt from Zeus as he tried to scale the walls of Thebes. Cf. Sophocles, *Antigone* 127–37; Euripides, *Phoenician Maidens* 1172–86.

59 Artemis *Prostateria*, a title associated with shrines placed close to doors or gates (cf. Sophocles, *Electra* 637); Artemis and Hecate (who was sometimes partly or even wholly identified with her) were often worshipped at such spots (cf. Aesch. fr. 388; Aristophanes, *Wasps* 804; Pausanias 1.38.6; *IG* iv^2 [1] 276 [Epidaurus]). Probably there was a well-known sanctuary of Artemis under this title outside the Electran Gate of Thebes.

ἐσχημάτισται δ' ἀσπὶς οὐ σμικρὸν τρόπον·
ἀνὴρ ὁπλίτης κλίμακος προσαμβάσεις
στείχει πρὸς ἐχθρῶν πύργον, ἐκπέρσαι θέλων·
βοᾷ δὲ χοὖτος γραμμάτων ἐν ξυλλαβαῖς
ὡς οὐδ' ἂν Ἄρης σφ' ἐκβάλοι πυργωμάτων.
καὶ τῷδε φωτὶ πέμπε τὸν φερέγγυον
πόλεως ἀπείργειν τῆσδε δούλιον ζυγόν.

ΕΤΕΟΚΛΗΣ

καὶ δὴ πέπεμπται, κόμπον ἐν χεροῖν ἔχων,
Μεγαρεύς, Κρέοντος σπέρμα τοῦ σπαρτῶν γένους,
ὃς οὔ τι μάργων ἱππικῶν φρυαγμάτων
βρόμον φοβηθεὶς ἐκ πυλῶν χωρήσεται,
ἀλλ' ἢ θανὼν τροφεῖα πληρώσει χθονὶ
ἢ καὶ δύ' ἄνδρε καὶ πόλισμ' ἐπ' ἀσπίδος
ἑλὼν λαφύροις δῶμα κοσμήσει πατρός.
κόμπαζ' ἐπ' ἄλλῳ, μηδέ μοι φθόνει λέγων.

466 ἀνὴρ Blomfield: ἀνὴρ δ' codd.

{472} πέμποιμ' ἂν ἤδη τόνδε, σὺν τύχῃ δέ τῳ codd.: del. Harberton (472–3 del. Dindorf).

473 πέπεμπται *x*: πέμπεται *b*: πέπεμπτ' οὐ M *b*: πέμπ(ε)τ' οὐ I *b k*.

480 λέγων M I *b k*: λύων γρ*b*′: λίαν *k*: λόγων anon., cf. Σ^{M} τῶν ἀλαζονειῶν.

music. His shield is decorated in no petty style. A fully-armed soldier is climbing a scaling ladder to the top of the enemy's wall, aiming to sack the city; and he too[60] is crying out in written syllables, saying that not even Ares can throw him off the wall. Against this man too you must send someone who can be relied on to save this city from the yoke of slavery.

ETEOCLES

He has been sent already, bearing his boast in his hands[61]—Megareus, son of Creon,[62] of the race of the Sown Men. He will not be terrified into retreating from the gate by the noise of horses' wild neighing: he will either, by his death, pay his full debt of nurture to this land, or else will adorn his father's house with booty after conquering two men[63] and the city on the shield. Brag about another one;[64] don't be grudging about informing me.

60 Like the man on Capaneus' shield.

61 i.e. expressing his pride not in words but in action.

62 This is the same Creon (son of Menoeceus and brother of Iocaste) who figures in Sophocles' three Theban plays and in Euripides' *Phoenician Maidens*. In Sophocles, *Antigone* 1303–5, the death of Megareus is mentioned as if the audience would be familiar with the story, and it is implied that Creon was somehow responsible for it; Aeschylus is evidently not following that version (whatever precisely it was), but it is striking that Megareus is the only one of the defending champions (other than himself) whose death Eteocles mentions as a possibility (477).

63 viz. Eteoclus himself and the man portrayed on his shield.

64 Eteocles speaks as if the Scout were himself making the boasts that he reports the attackers are making.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

στρ. β ἐπεύχομαι δὴ σὲ μὲν εὐτυχεῖν, ἰὼ
πρόμαχ' ἐμῶν δόμων, τοῖσι δὲ δυστυχεῖν·
ὡς δ' ὑπέραυχα βάζουσιν ἐπὶ πτόλει
μαινομένᾳ φρενί, τώς νιν
Ζεὺς νεμέτωρ ἐπίδοι κοταίνων.

ΚΑΤΑΣΚΟΠΟΣ

τέταρτος ἄλλος γείτονας πύλας ἔχων
Ὄγκας Ἀθάνας ξὺν βοῇ παρίσταται,
Ἱππομέδοντος σχῆμα καὶ μέγας τύπος·
ἅλω δὲ πολλήν, ἀσπίδος κύκλον λέγω,
ἔφριξα δινήσαντος, οὐκ ἄλλως ἐρῶ.
ὁ σηματουργὸς δ' οὔ τις εὐτελὴς ἄρ' ἦν
ὅστις τόδ' ἔργον ὥπασεν πρὸς ἀσπίδι,
Τυφῶν' ἱέντα πυρπνόου διὰ στόμα
λιγνὺν μέλαιναν, αἰόλην πυρὸς κάσιν·
ὄφεων δὲ πλεκτάναισι περίδρομος κύκλος
προσηδάφισται κοιλογάστορος κύτους.
αὐτὸς δ' ἐπηλάλαξεν, ἔνθεος δ' Ἄρει
βακχᾷ πρὸς ἀλκὴν θυιὰς ὥς, φόβον βλέπων.
τοιοῦδε φωτὸς πεῖραν εὖ φυλακτέον·
Φόβος γὰρ ἤδη πρὸς πύλαις κομπάζεται.

481 σὲ Murray (in *b'* σε is added after εὐτυχεῖν): τάδε M I *b*: τῶδε *k*.

495 περίδρομος Schütz: περίδρομον codd.

495–6 κύκλος . . . κύτους Hutchinson (κύτους . . . κύκλος Schütz): κύτος . . . κύκλου codd.

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65 Typhon (also called Typhoeus or Typhos) was the last oppo-

CHORUS

Truly I pray that fortune may be with you,
O defender of my home, and may not be with them:
as they bluster loudly against the city
with maddened heart, so may an indignant
Zeus look upon them with wrath!

SCOUT

Another, the fourth, assigned to the neighbouring Gate of Athena Onca, is standing near it uttering loud cries, the vast figure and form of Hippomedon. I shuddered, I won't deny it, to see him brandish his great round threshing-floor of a shield. And it can't have been a cheap artist who gave him that device on the shield, Typhon[65] emitting dark smoke, the many-coloured sister of flame, from his fire-breathing lips; the round circle of the hollow-bellied shield is floored with coiling snakes.[66] The man himself raised a great war-cry; he is possessed by Ares, and he rages for a fight like a maenad, with a fearsome look in his eye. You need to guard well against the attack of a man like this: Terror itself is now vaunting at the gate.

nent whom Zeus vanquished before his rulership of the universe was finally established (Hesiod, *Theogony* 821–68). He was an Earth-born monster, with a hundred fiery serpent-heads; but after a great battle Zeus defeated him with the thunderbolt and hurled him down to Tartarus (in Pindar, *Pythian* 1.15–28, and in *Prometheus* 351–72, he lies under Mount Etna).

66 This expression is easily understood in the light of artistic representations of Typhon (including an Argive shield found at Olympia; see D. W. Berman, *Myth and Culture in Aeschylus' Seven against Thebes* [Rome, 2007] 59–60 and figs. 1a, 1b), in which he regularly has one or two coiling snakes where his legs should be (see *LIMC* s.v. Typhon).

ΕΤΕΟΚΛΗΣ

πρῶτον μὲν Ὄγκα Παλλάς, ἥτ' ἀγχίπτολις
πύλαισι γείτων, ἀνδρὸς ἐχθαίρουσ' ὕβριν
εἴρξει, νεοσσῶν ὡς δράκοντα δύσχιμον·
Ὑπέρβιος δέ, κεδνὸς Οἴνοπος τόκος,
ἀνὴρ κατ' ἄνδρα τοῦτον ᾑρέθη, θέλων
ἐξιστορῆσαι μοῖραν ἐν χρείᾳ τύχης,
οὔτ' εἶδος οὔτε θυμὸν οὐδ' ὅπλων σχέσιν
μωμητός. Ἑρμῆς δ' εὐλόγως ξυνήγαγεν·
ἐχθρὸς γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὶ τῷ ξυστήσεται,
ξυνοίσετον δὲ πολεμίους ἐπ' ἀσπίδων
θεούς· ὁ μὲν γὰρ πυρπνόον Τυφῶν' ἔχει,
Ὑπερβίῳ δὲ Ζεὺς πατὴρ ἐπ' ἀσπίδος
σταδαῖος ἧσται, διὰ χερὸς βέλος φλέγων.
τοιάδε μέντοι προσφίλεια δαιμόνων·
πρὸς τῶν κρατούντων δ' ἐσμέν, οἱ δ' ἡσσωμένων,
εἰ Ζεύς γε Τυφῶ καρτερώτερος μάχῃ.
εἰκὸς δὲ πράσσειν ἄνδρας ὧδ' ἀντιστάτας,
Ὑπερβίῳ τε πρὸς λόγον τοῦ σήματος
σωτὴρ γένοιτ' ἂν Ζεὺς ἐπ' ἀσπίδος τυχών.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἀντ. β πέποιθά τοι τὸν Διὸς ἀντίτυπον ἔχοντ'

{514} *κοὔπω τις εἶδε* (M I *b k*: οἶδε *b k*) *Ζῆνά που νικώμενον* codd.: del. Hermann.

519 after 517 I^{pc} *k*: after 518 M: om. I^{ac} *b*: after 516 M^{2} *b k*.

521 *τοι* Blaydes: om. codd.: *δὴ z*.

ETEOCLES

In the first place, Pallas Onca, close neighbour to our city's gate, hates this man's arrogance and will keep him off, like a mother-bird[67] protecting her nestlings from a hostile serpent. And a man has been chosen to face this man, Hyperbius, the brave son of Oenops, ready to learn his fate in this crisis of fortune, faultless in form, in spirit, and also in the handling of arms. And Hermes[68] has brought them together appropriately: the man is an enemy of the man he will face,[69] and on their shields they will bring together two antagonistic gods. One of them has the fire-breathing Typhon, and on Hyperbius' shield resides Father Zeus, standing with his flaming bolt in his hand. Such are their alliances with gods; and we are on the side of the winners, they of the losers, that is if Zeus is Typhon's superior in battle. It is to be expected that the human opponents will fare likewise, and by the logic of Hyperbius' emblem the Zeus he has on his shield should become his Saviour.[70]

CHORUS

I am confident that he who has on his shield

67 In the Greek, the comparison to a mother-bird is left to be understood from *νεοσσῶν* "nestlings". Cf. *Eumenides* 1001 "They [the Athenians] are under the wings of Pallas".

68 Hermes was thought to be responsible for unexpected strokes of good luck.

69 It is not clear whether this means that the two men are personal enemies (if so, we know nothing of the mythical background) or whether the statement merely serves to point up what follows ("not only are these two men going to fight each other, they also bear on their shields two gods who fought each other").

70 Alluding to one of Zeus's most familiar titles; cf. *Supp.* 26, *Eum.* 760.

ἄφιλον ἐν σάκει τοῦ χθονίου δέμας
δαίμονος, ἐχθρὸν εἴκασμα βροτοῖς τε καὶ
δαροβίοισι θεοῖσιν,
πρόσθε πυλᾶν κεφαλὰν ἰάψειν.

ΚΑΤΑΣΚΟΠΟΣ

οὕτω γένοιτο. τὸν δὲ πέμπτον αὖ λέγω,
πέμπταισι προσταχθέντα Βορραίαις πύλαις,
τύμβον κατ' αὐτὸν Διογένους Ἀμφίονος·
ὁ δ' ὠμόν, οὔ τι παρθένων ἐπώνυμον,
φρόνημα γοργόν τ' ὄμμ' ἔχων προσίσταται.
ὄμνυσι δ' αἰχμὴν ἣν ἔχει, μᾶλλον θεοῦ
σέβειν πεποιθὼς ὀμμάτων θ' ὑπέρτερον,
ἢ μὴν λαπάξειν ἄστυ Καδμείων βίᾳ.
Ἄρεως τόδ' αὐδᾷ μητρὸς ἐξ ὀρεσκόου
βλάστημα καλλίπρῳρον, ἀνδρόπαις ἀνήρ·
στείχει δ' ἴουλος ἄρτι διὰ παρηΐδων
ὥρας φυούσης, ταρφὺς ἀντέλλουσα θρίξ.
οὐ μὴν ἀκόμπαστός γ' ἐφίσταται πύλαις·
τὸ γὰρ πόλεως ὄνειδος ἐν χαλκηλάτῳ
σάκει, κυκλωτῷ σώματος προβλήματι,

523 δαίμονος Brunck, cf. Σ^{M}: δαίμοσιν codd.

527 Βορραίαις Canter: Βοραίαις *k*: Βορρέαις M I *b*: Βορέαις *b k*.

536–7 transposed by Weil to precede 529 (cf. *Hermes* 118 [1989] 438–40).

537 τ' I *k*: δ' M *b k*: om. *b*.

531–2 βίᾳ. Ἄρεως Weil: βιᾳ δορός· Π$^{\gamma\rho}$I *b k*: βίᾳ Διός· M I *b k*.

the adversary of Zeus, the unlovely form of an earth-
born
divinity, an image hateful to mortals
and to the long-lived gods,
will lose[71] his head before the gates!

SCOUT

So may it be. Now I tell you of the fifth, assigned to the fifth gate, the North Gate, right by the tomb of Amphion,[72] son of Zeus. He stands there with a savage pride, not at all in keeping with his maidenish name,[73] and a fierce eye. He swears by the spear he holds, resolved to revere it more than a god and more highly than his eyes, that he will sack the city of the Cadmeans by force. He who says this is the offspring of Ares by a mountain-dwelling mother,[74] a fair-faced man, little more than a boy: the down is just growing thick and spreading over his cheeks as he comes to the prime of beauty. But he does not stand before the gate without a boastful emblem: on his shield of beaten bronze, the circular protector of his body, he wielded our city's

71 lit. "throw". 72 Who, together with his brother Zethus, built the walls of Thebes. The tomb was on a hill to the north of the Cadmea (see Berman *op.cit.* 103 and map 4).

73 *Partheno*-paeus. 74 His mother was the huntress Atalanta; his father is usually named as Melanion (occasionally Meleager), but [Apollodorus], *Library* 3.9.2 gives Ares as an alternative. The transmitted text offers a very different construction and meaning: "... that he will sack the city of the Cadmeans in despite of Zeus: so says the offspring of (ἐξ) a mountain-dwelling mother ...". However, when a person's mother is named with the preposition ἐκ (ἐξ), the father is normally also identified explicitly or implicitly; hence Weil's conjecture.

Σφίγγ' ὠμόσιτον προσμεμηχανημένην
γόμφοις ἐνώμα, λαμπρὸν ἔκκρουστον δέμας·
φέρει δ' ὑφ' αὑτῇ φῶτα, Καδμείων ἕνα,
ὡς πλεῖστ' ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ τῷδ' ἰάπτεσθαι βέλη.
ἐλθὼν δ' ἔοικεν οὐ καπηλεύσειν μάχην,
μακρᾶς κελεύθου δ' οὐ καταισχυνεῖν πόρον,
Παρθενόπαιος Ἀρκάς. ὁ δὲ τοιόσδ' ἀνήρ,
μέτοικος, Ἄργει δ' ἐκτίνων καλὰς τροφάς,
πύργοις ἀπειλεῖ τοῖσδ' ἃ μὴ κραίνοι θεός.

ΕΤΕΟΚΛΗΣ

εἰ γὰρ τύχοιεν ὧν φρονοῦσι πρὸς θεῶν
αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις ἀνοσίοις κομπάσμασιν·
ἦ τἂν πανώλεις παγκάκως τ' ὀλοίατο.
ἔστιν δὲ καὶ τῷδ', ὃν λέγεις τὸν Ἀρκάδα,
ἀνὴρ ἄκομπος, χειρὶ δ' ὁρᾷ τὸ δράσιμον,
Ἄκτωρ, ἀδελφὸς τοῦ πάρος λελεγμένου·
ὃς οὐκ ἐάσει γλῶσσαν ἐργμάτων ἄτερ
εἴσω πυλῶν ῥέουσαν ἀλδαίνειν κακά,
οὐδ' εἰσαμεῖψαι θηρὸς ἐχθίστου δάκος
ἔξωθεν εἴσω. τῷ φέροντι μέμψεται

548 del. Hutchinson (II has the line).
549 τοῖσδ' M I *b k*: δεῖν' (cf. {426}) *k*.
558 δάκος *b k*: δάκους M I *b k*. {559} εἰκὼ φέροντα πολεμίας ἐπ' (M I *b k*: ὑπ' *b*) ἀσπίδος codd.: del. Weil.

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75 When the Thebans throw their spears at Parthenopaeus, they risk hitting the Theban on his shield—a bad omen for their side.

disgrace, the Sphinx, eater of raw flesh, her bright form beaten out and fastened on with rivets, and under her she bears a man, one of the Cadmeans—so that a great many weapons may be thrown at that man.[75] Having come here, he is not likely to fight on a petty scale,[76] nor to show himself unworthy of the long journey he has made: Parthenopaeus the Arcadian. This man, such as I have described—an immigrant, paying back to Argos the debt due for his fine upbringing[77]—is making threats against these walls which may god not fulfil!

ETEOCLES

May they receive from the gods a fate that matches their own intentions, they and those unholy boasts of theirs; then they would surely perish utterly and wretchedly! But for this man too, the Arcadian you speak of, there is a man who does not boast but whose hand can see what needs to be done—Actor, brother of the last-mentioned. He will not allow a tongue with no deeds to its credit to flood in through the gates[78] and breed trouble, nor that hateful, hurtful beast to pass from the outside to the inside. She will blame her bearer when she gets an intense pounding be-

76 lit. "to be a retailer (κάπηλος) of battle": rather, like a trader (ἔμπορος) who goes on long voyages, he can be expected to conduct his dealings on a *wholesale* basis.

77 This parenthesis may be interpolated: if Parthenopaeus has travelled further than his colleagues to fight at Thebes (545–6), he can hardly have been brought up at Argos as here implied. The interpolator may have been inspired by Euripides, *Suppliants* 888–900, where much stress is laid on the excellent upbringing that Parthenopaeus had received at Argos.

78 The ship image again.

πυκνοῦ κροτησμοῦ τυγχάνουσ᾽ ὑπὸ πτόλιν.
θεῶν θελόντων τἂν ἀληθεύσαιμ᾽ ἐγώ.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

στρ. γ ἱκνεῖται λόγος διὰ στηθέων,
τριχὸς δ᾽ ὀρθίας πλόκαμος ἵσταται
μεγάλα μεγαληγόρων κλυούσᾳ
ἀνοσίων ἀνδρῶν· εἰ θεοὶ θεοί,
τούσδ᾽ ὀλέσειαν ἐν γᾷ.

ΚΑΤΑΣΚΟΠΟΣ

ἔκτον λέγοιμ᾽ ἂν ἄνδρα σωφρονέστατον
ἀλκήν τ᾽ ἄριστον, μάντιν, Ἀμφιάρεω βίαν·
Ὁμολωΐσιν δὲ πρὸς πύλαις τεταγμένος
κακοῖσι βάζει πολλὰ Τυδέως βίαν,
τὸν ἀνδροφόντην, τὸν πόλεως ταράκτορα,
μέγιστον Ἄργει τῶν κακῶν διδάσκαλον,
Ἐρινύος κλητῆρα, πρόσπολον Φόνου,
κακῶν τ᾽ Ἀδράστῳ τῶνδε βουλευτήριον·
καὶ τὸν σὸν αὖθις †προσμοράν† ὁμόσπορον,
ἐξυπτιάζων ὄνομα, †Πολυνείκους βίαν,
δίς τ᾽ ἐν τελευτῇ τοὔνομ᾽† ἐνδατούμενος

562 τἂν (τ᾽ ἂν) *b*: δ᾽ ἂν M I *b k*: ἂν *b k*: om. *b*.
565 κλυούσᾳ Hermann: κλύουσα I^{pc} γρ*b*′: κλύων M I^{ac} *b k*: κλυούσαις Hutchinson.
576 προσμοράν M *b*: πρόσμορον vel sim. I *b k*: πρόσπορον γρΣ^{I} *b*: προσθροῶν Francken.
576 ὁμόσπορον Burges: ἀδελφὸν *b*: ἀδελφεὸν M I *b k*.
577–8 thus codd.: 578 del. Murray: perh. ἐξυπτιάζων ὄνομα κἀνδατούμενος (deleting Πολυνείκους . . . τοὔνομ᾽).

low the city walls! If the gods are willing, what I speak will be the truth.

CHORUS

Their words pierce through my breast,
and each lock of my hair stands up on end
when I hear the loud boasts of these loud-mouthed,
impious men. If the gods are really gods,
may they destroy them in this land!

SCOUT

The sixth man I have to speak of is a man of the highest virtue and an excellent fighter, powerful Amphiaraus, the prophet. Stationed before the Homoloïd Gate, he is casting many reviling words at powerful Tydeus—"murderer",[79] "wrecker of your city", "Argos' great instructor in evil", "arouser of a Fury",[80] "high priest[81] of Carnage", "Adrastus' counsellor in these crimes". And then again he loudly addresses your brother, turning his name inside out and dwelling on its significance,[82] and these are the words

79 Tydeus had fled from his native Calydon to Argos after killing one or more kinsmen (early accounts vary widely as to the details); like Polyneices, he married a daughter of Adrastus. Amphiaraus' ensuing words should not be taken to imply that Tydeus alone was the prime mover behind Adrastus' decision to attack Thebes, since he also blames Polyneices for urging this course on Adrastus (585). 80 i.e. inciter of an act that will incur certain and terrible vengeance. 81 lit. "servant"; for the personification of Carnage (Φόνος) as a deity cf. Hesiod, *Theogony* 228 and *Shield of Heracles* 155. 82 Polyneices means "Much-strife". The passage as transmitted is corrupt, and I suspect that several words that were originally annotations (Polyneices' name, δίς, and ἐν τελευτῇ) have been incorporated into the text; I have omitted these in the above translation.

καλεῖ, λέγει δὲ τοῦτ᾽ ἔπος διὰ στόμα·
"ἦ τοῖον ἔργον καὶ θεοῖσι προσφιλές
καλόν τ᾽ ἀκοῦσαι καὶ λέγειν μεθυστέροις,
πόλιν πατρῴαν καὶ θεοὺς τοὺς ἐγγενεῖς
πορθεῖν, στρατεῦμ᾽ ἐπακτὸν ἐμβεβληκότα;
μητρός τε πηγὴν τίς κατασβέσει δίκη,
πατρίς τε γαῖα σῆς ὑπὸ σπουδῆς δορὶ
ἁλοῦσα πῶς σοι ξύμμαχος γενήσεται;
ἔγωγε μὲν δὴ τήνδε πιανῶ χθόνα
μάντις κεκευθὼς πολεμίας ὑπὸ χθονός.
μαχώμεθ᾽· οὐκ ἄτιμον ἐλπίζω μόρον."
τοιαῦθ᾽ ὁ μάντις ἀσπίδ᾽ εὔκηλος νέμων
πάγχαλκον ηὔδα. σῆμα δ᾽ οὐκ ἐπῆν κύκλῳ·
οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖν ἄριστος ἀλλ᾽ εἶναι θέλει,
βαθεῖαν ἄλοκα διὰ φρενὸς καρπούμενος,
ἐξ ἧς τὰ κεδνὰ βλαστάνει βουλεύματα.
τούτῳ σοφούς τε κἀγαθοὺς ἀντηρέτας
πέμπειν ἐπαινῶ· δεινὸς ὃς θεοὺς σέβει.

ΕΤΕΟΚΛΗΣ

φεῦ τοῦ ξυναλλάσσοντος ὄρνιθος βροτοῖς
δίκαιον ἄνδρα τοῖσι δυσσεβεστέροις.
ἐν παντὶ πράγει δ᾽ ἔσθ᾽ ὁμιλίας κακῆς
κάκιον οὐδέν, καρπὸς οὐ κομιστέος.
ἢ γὰρ ξυνεισβὰς πλοῖον εὐσεβὴς ἀνὴρ

590 εὔκηλος Prien: εὔκηλον M: εὔκυκλον γρM I *b k*: ἔγκυκλον *t*. {601} ἄτης ἄρουρα θάνατον ἐκκαρπίζεται codd.: del. Musgrave.

he utters from his lips: "Is an act like this really smiled on by the gods, is it an honourable thing for posterity to hear and tell of, to devastate one's fatherland and its native gods by bringing a foreign army to invade it? What claim of justice can quench the mother-source, and if your fatherland is conquered by the spear thanks to your incitement, how can you expect it to be your ally? For my part, I will enrich this land by becoming[83] a prophet buried in the soil of the enemy. Let us do battle: I expect an honourable death." So the prophet spoke, wielding calmly his shield all of bronze. On its circle there was no image; for he desires not the appearance of excellence but the reality, harvesting a deep furrow in his mind from which good counsels grow.[84] Against him I advise you to send brave and skilful opponents: formidable is he who reveres the gods.

ETEOCLES

Alas for the fate that visits mortals and links a righteous man with his impious inferiors! In every activity there is nothing worse than evil company; it is a crop best not reaped. Either a virtuous man boards a ship together with

83 In his posthumous capacity as a hero. The oracular shrine of Amphiaraus near Thebes was famous throughout, and beyond, the Greek world (Herodotus 1.46, 49, 52; 8.134).

84 Plutarch (*Aristeides* 3.5) says that on hearing this eulogy of Amphiaraus in the theatre, the whole audience turned their eyes to Aristeides "the Just"; but his anecdote derives much of its point from a misquotation (making Amphiaraus desire not the appearance but the reality of *justice*—appropriate to Aristeides, but not to the Aeschylean context) and should be regarded as fictional.

ναύταισι θερμοῖς καὶ πανουργίᾳ τινὶ
ὄλωλεν ἀνδρῶν ξὺν θεοπτύστῳ γένει,
ἢ ξὺν πολίταις ἀνδράσιν δίκαιος ὢν
ἐχθροξένοις τε καὶ θεῶν ἀμνήμοσιν
ταὐτοῦ κυρήσας ἐκδίκως ἀγρεύματος
πληγαὶς θεοῦ μάστιγι παγκοίνῳ 'δάμη.
οὕτω δ' ὁ μάντις, υἱὸν Οἰκλέους λέγω,
σώφρων δίκαιος ἀγαθὸς εὐσεβὴς ἀνήρ,
μέγας προφήτης, ἀνοσίοισι συμμιγεὶς
θρασυστόμοισί τ' ἀνδράσιν βίᾳ φρενῶν
τείνουσι πομπὴν τὴν μακρὰν πόλιν μολεῖν
Διὸς θέλοντος ξυγκαθελκυσθήσεται.
δοκῶ μὲν οὖν σφε μηδὲ προσβαλεῖν πύλαις,
οὐχ ὡς ἄθυμον οὐδὲ λήματος κάκῃ,
ἀλλ' οἶδεν ὥς σφε χρὴ τελευτῆσαι μάχῃ,
εἰ καρπὸς ἔσται θεσφάτοισι Λοξίου·
φιλεῖ δὲ σιγᾶν ἢ λέγειν τὰ καίρια.
ὅμως δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ φῶτα, Λασθένους βίαν,
ἐχθρόξενον πύλωρον ἀντιτάξομεν·
γέροντα τὸν νοῦν, σαρκα δ' ἡβῶσαν φύει,
ποδῶκες ὄμμα, χεῖρα δ' οὐ βραδύνεται

612 *-οισί τ'* Blaydes: *-οισιν* codd.
616 *ἄθυμον x*: *ἄθυμος* M I *b k*.
619 del. J. Pearson.
622 *φύει* I: *φύσει* Π M *b k*: *φέρει b k*.

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85 lit. "with headstrong sailors and some villainy".

86 Amphiaraus' wife Eriphyle was the sister of Adrastus; after an earlier quarrel with Adrastus, Amphiaraus had sworn that in

sailors engaged in some headstrong villainy[85] and perishes along with that god-detested set of men, or else an honest man in the company of fellow-citizens, men who hate foreigners and are unmindful of the gods, is caught unjustly in the same net as they, and is lashed and laid low, together with them all, by the scourge of god. So too this seer, the son of Oecles, a virtuous, upright, courageous and pious man, a great prophet, has joined together against his will[86] with impious men of arrogant speech, who are marching one after another[87] down a road on which it's a long journey to come back;[88] and, Zeus willing, he will be dragged down with them. Indeed, I do not think he will attack the gate at all—not because he is lacking in spirit or cowardly in character, but he knows that he is destined to die in the battle, if the oracle of Loxias[89] is to bear fruit (and his habit is to be either silent or accurate). Nevertheless we shall post a man against him, powerful Lasthenes, a gatekeeper hostile to intruders,[90] who has developed a mature mind but youthful flesh; his eye is swift, and in action he is not slow to

any future dispute between the two men he would abide by her decision. When he was reluctant to join the expedition against Thebes (knowing through his prophetic power that it was doomed to disaster) Polynices bribed Eriphyle with the necklace of Harmonia, and she, invoking Amphiaraus' oath, instructed him to go on the expedition. The story was known in some form to Homer (*Odyssey* 11.326–7, 15.244–7); it is told consecutively in the scholia to *Odyssey* 11.326 (citing Asclepiades).

87 lit. "stretching out a procession".

88 A meiotic reference to the road to death, from which there is *no* coming back.

89 Apollo.

90 Greek ἐχθρόξενον, the same adjective rendered "who hate foreigners" at 606.

παρ᾽ ἀσπίδος γυμνωθὲν ἁρπάσαι δορί·
θεοῦ δὲ δῶρόν ἐστιν εὐτυχεῖν βροτούς.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἀντ. γ κλυόντες θεοὶ δικαίους λιτὰς
ἀμετέρας τελεῖθ᾽, ὡς πόλις εὐτυχῇ,
δορίπονα κάκ᾽ ἐκτρέποντες εἰς γᾶς
ἐπιμόλους· πύργων δ᾽ ἔκτοθεν βαλὼν
Ζεὺς σφε κάνοι κεραυνῷ.

ΚΑΤΑΣΚΟΠΟΣ

τὸν ἕβδομον δὴ τόνδ᾽ ἐφ᾽ Ἑβδόμαις πύλαις
λέξω, τὸν αὐτοῦ σοῦ κασίγνητον, πόλει
οἵας ἀρᾶται καὶ κατεύχεται τύχας
ἁλώσιμον παιῶν᾽ ἐπεξιακχάσας·
σοὶ ξυμφέρεσθαι καὶ κτανὼν θανεῖν πέλας
ἢ ζῶντ᾽ ἀτιμαστῆρα τὼς ἀνδρηλάτην
φυγῇ τὸν αὐτὸν τόνδε τείσασθαι τρόπον.
τοιαῦτ᾽ ἀυτεῖ, καὶ θεοὺς γενεθλίους
καλεῖ πατρῴας γῆς ἐποπτῆρας λιτῶν
τῶν ὧν γενέσθαι πάγχυ Πολυνείκους βία.

624 δορί *x*: δορύ M I *b k*. 628 εἰς (ἐς) γᾶς Hermann: γᾶς εἰς M²I²: γᾶς πρὸς *b*: γᾶς M I *k*.

{634} πύργοις ἐπεμβὰς κἀπικηρυχθεὶς (-γηρυθεὶς Π^mg: -γυρωθεὶς *x*: [Π]) χθονί codd.: del. Harberton.

635 παιῶν᾽ Wilamowitz: παιᾶν᾽ codd.

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91 Both Aeschylus and Euripides (*Phoenician Maidens* 1104–40), in listing the Seven and the gates they attacked, give names to

seize with his spear on a spot exposed by a movement of the shield—but mortals' good fortune is the gift of god.

CHORUS

Hear, you gods, our righteous prayers,
and fulfil them, that the city may prosper,
turning the evils of the armed struggle against
the invaders of our land: may Zeus strike them, outside
the walls,
and slay them with his thunderbolt!

SCOUT

Now this is the seventh, at the Seventh Gate:[91] your own brother. I will tell what a fate and curse he prays may befall this city[92], sounding out a jubilant paean for its capture: to join battle with you, kill you, and die beside you, or else, if you survive, to punish you, as the one who degraded him and drove him out, in the same manner—by banishment. Such is the cry of powerful Polyneices, and he is calling on the ancestral gods of his fatherland to look favourably on

the first six gates but call the last simply "the seventh". For Euripides this gate is of no particular importance (in his account no one is killed there), and he clearly regarded "Seventh" as its *name*. In [Apollodorus], *Library* 3.6.6, and Pausanias 9.8.4, what seems to be the same gate is called the Hypsistan; if "Seventh" was an alternative name for it, it may have been due to the presence nearby of a sanctuary of Apollo (cf. 800–1).

92 Polyneices actually wants to rule Thebes (647–8), not to destroy it, and even expects its gods to be his allies (639–41); but the Scout, like Amphiaraus (582–3), evidently assumes that if the enemy are victorious Polyneices will not be able to prevent them from sacking and burning the city (cf. 427, 434, 467, 531, 549).

ἔχει δὲ καινοπηγὲς εὔκυκλον σάκος
διπλοῦν τε σῆμα προσμεμηχανημένον.
χρυσήλατον γὰρ ἄνδρα τευχηστὴν ἰδεῖν
ἄγει γυνή τις σωφρόνως ἡγουμένη·
Δίκη δ' ἄρ' εἶναί φησιν, ὡς τὰ γράμματα
λέγει· "κατάξω δ' ἄνδρα τόνδε, καὶ πόλιν
ἕξει πατρῴαν δωμάτων τ' ἐπιστροφάς."
τοιαῦτ' ἐκείνων ἐστὶ τἀξευρήματα,
ὡς οὔποτ' ἄνδρὶ τῷδε κηρυκευμάτων
μέμψῃ· σὺ δ' αὐτὸς γνῶθι ναυκληρεῖν πόλιν.

ΕΤΕΟΚΛΗΣ

ὦ θεομανές τε καὶ θεῶν μέγα στύγος,
ὦ πανδάκρυτον ἁμὸν Οἰδίπου γένος·
ὤμοι, πατρὸς δὴ νῦν ἀραὶ τελεσφόροι.
ἀλλ' οὔτε κλαίειν οὔτ' ὀδύρεσθαι πρέπει,
μὴ καὶ τεκνωθῇ δυσφορώτερος γόος.
ἐπωνύμῳ δὲ κάρτα, Πολυνείκει λέγω,
τάχ' εἰσόμεσθα τοὐπίσημ' ὅποι τελεῖ,
εἴ νιν κατάξει χρυσότευκτα γράμματα
ἐπ' ἀσπίδος φλύοντα σὺν φοίτῳ φρενῶν.
εἰ δ' ἡ Διὸς παῖς παρθένος Δίκη παρὴν
ἔργοις ἐκείνου καὶ φρεσίν, τάχ' ἂν τόδ' ἦν·
ἀλλ' οὔτε νιν φυγόντα μητρόθεν σκότον
οὔτ' ἐν τροφαῖσιν οὔτ' ἐφηβήσαντά πω
οὔτ' ἐν γενείου ξυλλογῇ τριχώματος

648 *πατρῴαν k*: *πατρῴων* M I *b*.

{650} *σὺ δ' αὐτὸς ἤδη γνῶθι τίνα πέμπειν δοκεῖ* (Π M *b k*: *δοκεῖ σοι b*: *δοκεῖς* I *b k*) Π codd.: del. Halm.

his prayers in every way. He has a new-fashioned, well-rounded shield, and a double device cunningly worked upon it: one beholds a man-at-arms, made of gold, led by a woman who walks ahead of him with modest gait. And as the writing proclaims, she says that she is Justice, "and I will bring this man back from exile, and he will possess his father's city and the right to dwell in his home." Such are the devices of those men—for you will never have reason to criticize me for my reports; now you yourself must decide how to command[93] the city.

He departs.

ETEOCLES

O my family, driven mad and greatly hated by the gods, my family so full of tears, the house of Oedipus! Ah me, my father's curse is truly now fulfilled! But it is not proper to cry or lament, lest that give birth to grief even harder to bear. For this man so well named—Polyneices, I mean[94]—we shall soon know where that blazon will end up, whether those letters worked in gold, blathering insanely on his shield, are really going to bring him home. If Justice, the virgin daughter of Zeus, were actually present in his actions and his mind, that might possibly have been the case. But in fact, neither when he escaped the darkness of the womb, nor when he was growing, nor when he reached adolescence, nor when his chin was gathering hair, did Jus-

93 lit. "be ship-captain of".

94 See n. 82.

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652 πόλιν codd.: πα[II: πάτραν Roberts.

Δίκη προσεῖδε καὶ κατηξιώσατο·
οὐδ' ἐν πατρῴας μὴν χθονὸς κακουχίᾳ
οἶμαί νιν αὐτῷ νῦν παραστατεῖν πέλας.
ἦ δῆτ' ἂν εἴη πανδίκως ψευδώνυμος
Δίκη, ξυνοῦσα φωτὶ παντόλμῳ φρένας.
τούτοις πεποιθὼς εἶμι καὶ ξυστήσομαι
αὐτός· τίς ἄλλος μᾶλλον ἐνδικώτερος;
ἄρχοντί τ' ἄρχων καὶ κασιγνήτῳ κάσις,
ἐχθρὸς ξὺν ἐχθρῷ στήσομαι. φέρ' ὡς τάχος
κνημῖδας, αἰχμῆς καὶ πτερῶν προβλήματα.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

μή, φίλτατ' ἀνδρῶν, Οἰδίπου τέκος, γένῃ
ὀργὴν ὅμοιος τῷ κάκιστ' αὐδωμένῳ·
ἀλλ' ἄνδρας Ἀργείοισι Καδμείους ἄλις
εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν· αἷμα γὰρ καθάρσιον.
ἀνδροῖν δ' ὁμαίμοιν θάνατος ὧδ' αὐτοκτόνος,
οὐκ ἔστι γῆρας τοῦδε τοῦ μιάσματος.

ΕΤΕΟΚΛΗΣ

εἴπερ κακὸν φέρει τις, αἰσχύνης ἄτερ
ἔστω· μόνον γὰρ κέρδος ἐν τεθνηκόσιν.
κακῶν δὲ κᾀσχρῶν οὔτιν' εὐκλείαν ἐρεῖς.

667 προσεῖδε Martini (εἶδεν Σ^{M}): προσεῖπε codd.
668 οὐδ' *k*: οὔτ' M I *b*.
676 πτερῶν *b k*: πετρῶν M I *b k*: πέτρων Paley.
683 φέρει I *b* $^{i}\Sigma^{M\,I\,H\,B}$: φέροι M *b k*.

tice ever set eyes on him or hold him in any honour; nor now, surely, when he does harm to his own fatherland, is she standing close by him, I imagine. Truly Justice would be utterly false to her name if she consorted with a man with so utterly audacious a mind. Trusting in this, I will go and stand against him myself: who else has a better right to? I will stand as ruler against ruler, brother against brother, enemy against enemy. [*To one of his attendants*] Give me my greaves at once, to protect me against spear and shaft.

During the following exchanges Eteocles, with the help of his attendants, is putting on his armour.[95]

CHORUS

No, dearest of men, son of Oedipus, do not let your passions make you like that utterer of evil words! There are enough Cadmean men to go to battle with the Argives; such blood purifies itself.[96] But the death of two men of the same blood killing each other[97]—that pollution can never grow old.

ETEOCLES [*who has meanwhile put on his greaves*] If one must suffer evil, let it not be shameful; that is the only profit the dead can gain. You can never speak of a good reputation arising from a disaster which is also a disgrace.

95 For the sequence in which it is donned, cf. *Iliad* 3.330–8, 11.15–44, 16.130–9, 19.369–91.

96 Normally anyone who shed another's blood, intentionally or not, became ritually polluted, but this did not apply to the killing of an enemy in war (Euripides, *Ion* 1334; Plato, *Laws* 869d).

97 Lit. "themselves"—because they would be shedding blood that was (the same as) their own.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

στρ. α τί μέμονας, τέκνον; μή τί σε θυμοπλη-
θὴς δορίμαργος ἄτα φερέτω· κακοῦ δ'
ἔκβαλ' ἔρωτος ἀρχάν.

ΕΤΕΟΚΛΗΣ

ἐπεὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα κάρτ' ἐπισπέρχει θεός,
691 ἴτω κατ' οὖρον, κῦμα Κωκυτοῦ λαχόν,
Φοίβῳ στυγηθὲν πᾶν τὸ Λαΐου γένος.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἀντ. α ὠμοδακής σ' ἄγαν ἵμερος ἐξοτρύ-
νει πικρόκαρπον ἀνδροκτασίαν τελεῖν
αἵματος οὐ θεμιστοῦ.

ΕΤΕΟΚΛΗΣ

695 φίλου γὰρ ἐχθρά μοι πατρὸς †τελεῖ† Ἀρὰ
ξηροῖς ἀκλαύτοις ὄμμασιν προσιζάνει
λέγουσα κέρδος πρότερον ὑστέρου μόρου.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

στρ. β ἀλλὰ σὺ μὴ 'ποτρύνου· κακὸς οὐ κεκλη-
σῃ βίον εὖ κυρήσας· μελάναιγις ἔξ-

686 *τί* (before σε) *x*: *τίς* M I *b k*.
695 *τελεῖ* (from 693) M I *b*: *τελεῖ γ' k*: *τελει'(α)* (variously accented) *b k*: *τάλαιν'* Wordsworth: *μέλαιν'* Weil.
699 *μελάναιγις* Arnaldus: *μελάναιγις* δ' codd.
699 *ἔξεισι* Weil: *οὐκ εἶσι* codd.

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98 Compared with their earlier exchanges (180–286), the reversal in the positions of Eteocles and the chorus is so complete

CHORUS

Why this mad passion, child?[98] You must not let yourself
be carried away by this spear-mad delusion that fills your
heart.
Cast out the root of this evil desire!

ETEOCLES [*who has meanwhile put on his corslet*]
Since the god is plainly hastening things to their conclusion, let it run before the wind, the whole house of Laius, hated by Phoebus and consigned to the waves of Cocytus.[99]

CHORUS

An all too harshly stinging lust is provoking you
to perpetrate a homicide, shedding unlawful blood,
that will bear bitter fruit.

ETEOCLES [*who has meanwhile buckled on his sword*]
Yes, for the hateful <black[?]>[100] Curse of the father who should have loved me sits close by me with dry, tearless eyes,[101] saying "The gain comes before the death that comes after".

CHORUS

Don't be provoked! You will not be called a coward
if you find an honourable way to stay alive; the Fury's
black squall

that this chorus of young maidens even speak to him as if his superiors in age and wisdom.

99 One of the rivers of Hades.

100 A word of the text has been displaced by letters accidentally repeated from 693; I translate Weil's conjecture, though without great confidence in its correctness.

101 i.e. without pity.

εισι δόμων Ἐρινύς, ὅταν ἐκ χερῶν
θεοὶ θυσίαν δέχωνται.

ΕΤΕΟΚΛΗΣ

θεοῖς μὲν ἤδη πως παρημελήμεθα,
χάρις δ' ἀφ' ἡμῶν ὀλομένων θαυμάζεται;
τί οὖν ἔτ' ἂν σαίνοιμεν ὀλέθριον μόρον;

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἀντ. β μίμν' ὅτε σοι παρέστακεν, ἐπεὶ δαίμων
λήματος ἂν τροπαίᾳ χρονίᾳ μεταλ-
λακτὸς ἴσως ἂν ἔλθοι θελεμωτέρῳ
πνεύματι· νῦν δ' ἔτι ζεῖ.

ΕΤΕΟΚΛΗΣ

ἐξέζεσεν γὰρ Οἰδίπου κατεύγματα·
ἄγαν δ' ἀληθεῖς ἐννυπνίων φαντασμάτων
ὄψεις, πατρῴων χρημάτων δατήριοι.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

πείθου γυναιξί καίπερ οὐ στέργων ὅμως.

ΕΤΕΟΚΛΗΣ

λέγοιτ' ἂν ὢν ἄνη τις· οὐδὲ χρὴ μακράν.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

μη 'λθῃς ὁδοὺς σὺ τάσδ' ἐφ' Ἑβδόμαις πύλαις.

700 δόμων M *k*: δόμον I *b k* $^{i}\Sigma^{M}$.
705 μίμν' West: νῦν codd.
707 θελεμωτέρῳ Conington, cf. Σ^{I}: θαλλωτέρω M: θαλερωτέρῳ M^{2} I *b k*.

will leave your house, once the gods
receive a sacrifice at your hands.

ETEOCLES [*who has meanwhile put on his helmet*]
The gods, it seems, have already abandoned us, and will they honour any gift from us, doomed as we are? Why then should we still cringe before the fate of death?

CHORUS
Stay, while you have the chance! For the controlling
power
may perhaps, given time, change the wind of your
spirit[102]
and blow with a gentler breath;
but at present it is still seething.

ETEOCLES
[*who has meanwhile taken his shield and spear*]
Yes, for the curse of Oedipus has made it seethe: it was too true, what I saw in those dream-visions about the dividing of our father's property.[103]

CHORUS
Listen to us women, even if you don't like doing so.

ETEOCLES
You can say what's helpful, but don't make it lengthy.

CHORUS
Don't make this journey to the Seventh Gate.

102 Or "of its spirit".

103 This may refer back to something said by Eteocles in the preceding play, *Oedipus*; if it does not, its meaning will have been mysterious to many if not most of the audience until elucidated by 727–33 (cf. 788–90, 816–19, 906–9, 941–50).

ΕΤΕΟΚΛΗΣ

τεθηγμένον τοί μ' οὐκ ἀπαμβλυνεῖς λόγῳ.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

νίκην γε μέντοι καὶ κακὴν τιμᾷ θεός.

ΕΤΕΟΚΛΗΣ

οὐκ ἄνδρ' ὁπλίτην τοῦτο χρὴ στέργειν ἔπος.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἀλλ' αὐτάδελφον αἷμα δρέψασθαι θέλεις;

ΕΤΕΟΚΛΗΣ

θεῶν διδόντων οὐκ ἂν ἐκφύγοις κακά.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

στρ. α πέφρικα τὰν ὠλεσίοικον
θεὸν οὐ θεοῖς ὁμοίαν,
παναλαθῆ κακόμαντιν
πατρὸς εὐκταίαν Ἐρινύν,
τελέσαι τὰς περιθύμους
καταρὰς Οἰδιπόδα βλαψίφρονος·
παιδολέτωρ δ' ἔρις ἄδ' ὀτρύνει.

ἀντ. α ξένος δὲ κλήρους ἐπινωμᾷ
Χάλυβος Σκυθᾶν ἄποικος,
κτεάνων χρηματοδαίτας

725 Οἰδ- βλαψ- *z*: βλαψ- Οἰδ- codd.

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104 lit. "pluck".

105 The Chalybians were famous as iron-workers (*Prometheus*

ETEOCLES

I am whetted, and your words will not blunt me.

CHORUS

Yet god respects even an inglorious victory.

ETEOCLES

That's not an expression that a man-at-arms should tolerate.

CHORUS

You want to shed[104] the blood of your own brother?

ETEOCLES

When the gods send evil, one cannot escape it. [*He departs.*]

CHORUS

I shudder at that destroyer of families,
that goddess unlike the gods,
that all-too-true prophet of evil,
the Fury of the father's curse,
that it has fulfilled the angry imprecations
of Oedipus' warped mind:
this strife that will destroy his children is hastening it on.

And a foreigner is dividing their inheritances,
a Chalybian migrant from Scythia,[105]
a harsh distributor of property,

714–15; Euripides, *Alcestis* 980–1). They are usually located in Asia Minor (e.g. Herodotus 1.28) rather than in Scythia (the region north of the Black Sea), but Hecataeus (*FGrH* 1 F 203) placed them north of the Armenians, and in *Prometheus* loc.cit. they live between the "Scythian nomads" and the Caucasus.

730 πικρός, ὠμόφρων Σίδαρος,
χθόνα ναίειν διαπήλας
ὁπόσαν καὶ φθιμένοισιν κατέχειν,
τῶν μεγάλων πεδίων ἀμοίροις.

στρ. β ἐπεὶ δ' ἂν αὐτοκτόνως
735 αὐτοδάικτοι θάνωσι καὶ γαῖα κόνις
πίῃ μελαμπαγὲς αἷμα φοίνιον,
τίς ἂν καθαρμοὺς πόροι;
τίς ἄν σφε λύσειεν; ὦ
740 πόνοι δόμων νέοι παλαι-
οῖσι συμμιγεῖς κακοῖς.

ἀντ. β παλαιγενῆ γὰρ λέγω
παρβασίαν ὠκύποινον, αἰῶνα δ' εἰς τρίτον
745 μένειν, Ἀπόλλωνος εὖτε Λάιος
βίᾳ, τρὶς εἰπόντος ἐν
μεσομφάλοις Πυθικοῖς
χρηστηρίοις θνᾴσκοντα γέν-
νας ἄτερ σῴζειν πόλιν,

733 ἀμοίροις Pauw (cf. Σ^{BH} ἤτοι μέλλουσιν ἀποτυχεῖν τῆς βασιλείας): ἀμοίρους codd.

734 αὐτοκτόνως *k*: αὐτοκτόνωσιν M: αὐτοκτάνωσιν M^s I: αὐτοὶ κτάνωσι(ν) *b*. 735 γαῖα Dindorf: χθονία codd.

739 λύσειεν Dobree (cf. Σ^{M} ἐκλύσει): λούσειεν codd.

743 παρβασίαν Porson: παραβασίαν M *b k*: παραιβασίαν I *b k*.

745 μένειν Wilamowitz: μένει M I *b k*: μενεῖ *k*: μένοι *k*.

cruel-hearted Iron,
allotting them land to dwell in,
as much as is given to the dead to possess,[106]
with no share of the broad plains.

And when they die in kindred slaughter,
killed by one another, and the dust of earth
drinks up their dark red clotted blood,
who can provide purification,
who can release them?[107] O,
new troubles for the house
mingling with its old woes!

For I speak of the transgression
born long ago, punished swiftly, but remaining to the
third
generation, when Laius, defying
Apollo, who had told him thrice[108]
at the central navel of earth,
the oracular sanctuary of Pytho, to die
without issue and so save his city,

106 i.e. just enough for a grave.

107 sc. from pollution.

108 Presumably we are to understand that Laius, being dissatisfied with Apollo's response, repeated his question twice, only to receive the same answer each time; cf. Herodotus 7.141 where the Athenians force Apollo to modify his response by threatening an indefinite hunger strike in the temple.

στρ. γ κρατηθεὶς ἐκ φιλᾶν ἀβουλιᾶν
ἐγείνατο μὲν μόρον αὐτῷ,
πατροκτόνον Οἰδιπόδαν,
ὅστε ματρὸς ἁγνὰν
σπείρας ἄρουραν ἵν' ἔτραφη
ῥίζαν αἱματόεσσαν
ἔτλα· παράνοια συνᾶγε
νυμφίους φρενώλης.

ἀντ. γ κακῶν δ' ὥσπερ θάλασσα κῦμ' ἄγει
τὸ μὲν πίτνον, ἄλλο δ' ἀείρει
τρίχαλον, ὃ καὶ περὶ πρύμ-
ναν πόλεως καχλάζει·
μεταξὺ δ' ἄλκαρ ὅδ' ὀλίγῳ
τείνει πύργος ἐν εὔρει.
δέδοικα δὲ σὺν βασιλεῦσι
μὴ πόλις δαμασθῇ.

στρ. δ τέλειαι γὰρ παλαιφάτων ἀρᾶν
βαρεῖαι καταλλαγαί·

750 φιλᾶν Wilamowitz: φίλων codd.
750 ἀβουλιᾶν Dindorf, cf. Σ^{MI} ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῷ φίλων ἠδονῶν: ἀβουλίαν M: ἀβουλίας I$^{ac(?)}$: ἀβουλίαις I$^{pc(?)}$ *b*: ἀβουλία (i.e. -ίᾳ) *b k*. 751 ἐγείνατο *k*: γείνατο M I *b k*.
762 ἄλκαρ Blomfield, ὅδ' ὀλίγῳ Weil: ἀλκὰ δι' ὀλίγου codd. 766 ἀρᾶν Bothe: ἀραὶ codd.

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109 Possibly this alludes to sexual desire (cf. Euripides, *Phoenician Maidens* 21), but more likely to the desire for offspring

mastered by his own cherished, unwise counsels,[109]
begot his own death,
Oedipus the father-slayer,
who sowed the sacrosanct soil
of his mother, where he had been nurtured,
and suffered a bloodstained progeny:
it was mindless madness
that brought that bridal couple[110] together.

Now the sea, as it were, is bringing waves of trouble;
the first one subsides, but it raises up another
of triple strength, which breaks loudly
around the very poop of the city;
and for protection, in between,
stretches the slim breadth of this wall.
I fear lest together with the princes
the city may be laid low.

Fulfilled is the grievous reconciliation
spoken of in the curse long ago:[111]

which had prompted his initial rejection of the oracle's warning (cf. previous note).

110 The bridegroom here is probably Laius rather than Oedipus: Oedipus had no way of knowing that he was marrying his mother (cf. 778–9; the story of his having been told by Apollo that he was destined to do so is unlikely to predate Sophocles), and "mindless madness" describes not inappropriately an act by Laius which has already been called ill-counselled, a transgression, and a defiance of Apollo.

111 This too (cf. 710–11) may refer to something said in *Oedipus*; for the idea of the brothers' death as their reconciliation, cf. 884–5, 908–9, 941.

τὰ δ' ὀλό' οὐ παρέρχεται.
πρόπρυμνα δ' ἐκβολὰν φέρει
ἀνδρῶν ἀλφηστᾶν
ὄλβος ἄγαν παχυνθείς.

ἀντ. δ τίν' ἀνδρῶν γὰρ τοσόνδ' ἐθαύμασαν
θεοί τε ξυνέστιοι
πολύβατός τ' ἀγὼν βροτῶν,
ὅσον τότ' Οἰδίπουν τίον
τὰν ἁρπαξάνδραν
κῆρ' ἀφελόντα χώρας;

στρ. ε ἐπεὶ δ' ἀρτίφρων ἐγένετο
μέλεος ἄθλίων γάμων,
ἐπ' ἄλγει δυσφορῶν
μαινομένᾳ κραδίᾳ
δίδυμα κάκ' ἐτέλεσεν·
πατροφόνῳ χερὶ τῶν
†κρεισσοτέκνων† ὀμμάτων ἐβλάφθη,

768 (after ὀλο(ὰ)) τελούμεν' (gloss on 766?) *b* Σ^{M} Σ^{b}: τελόμεν' M^{pc} *b k*: τελλόμεν' *b k*: πελόμεν' M^{ac} I: del. Page.

773 τε Mazon: καὶ M I *b k*: δὲ καὶ *b*.

773 ξυνέστιοι Page: ξυνέστιοι πόλεως codd.

774 πολύβατός Blomfield, cf. Σ^{M} ὁ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἐμβατευόμενος ἀνδρῶν: πολύβοτός codd.

774 ἀγὼν Weil: αἰὼν codd.

776 τὰν ἁρπ- Hermann: ἀναρπ- codd.

784 κρεισσοτέκνων I *k*: κρείσσω τέκνων M *b k*: κρεισσόνων τέκνων *b k*.

destruction does not pass by.
Among men who earn a living,
prosperity grown too fat
leads to the cargo being thrown overboard from the
stern.

For what man was so much admired
by the gods in their shared abode[112]
and by the much-trodden meeting-place of mortals[113]
as in those days they admired Oedipus
who removed from the land
the man-snatching demon?[114]

But when he became aware,
wretched man, of his appalling marriage,
enraged by grief,
with maddened heart,
he perpetrated two evils:
by his own father-slaying hand
he was robbed of his < > eyes,[115]

112 Either their joint sanctuary on the Theban acropolis (cf. 93–281) or the palace of Zeus on Olympus where the gods of the *Iliad* regularly assemble.

113 i.e. by (those who frequented) the *agora* of Thebes.

114 The Sphinx.

115 The transmitted text describes his eyes as κρεισσοτέκνων, which could conceivably mean "better than children" but is a word of impossible formation.

ἀντ. ε τέκνοις δ' ἀθλίας ἐφῆκεν
ἐπίκοτος τροφᾶς, αἰαῖ,
πικρογλώσσους ἀράς,
καί σφε σιδαρονόμῳ
διὰ χερί ποτε λαχεῖν
κτήματα· νῦν δὲ τρέω
μὴ τελέσῃ καμψίπους Ἐρινύς.

ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ

θαρσεῖτε, παῖδες μητέρων τεθραμμέναι
< >·
πόλις πέφευγεν ἥδε δούλιον ζυγόν.
πέπτωκεν ἀνδρῶν ὀβρίμων κομπάσματα,
πόλις δ' ἐν εὐδίᾳ τε καὶ κλυδωνίου
πολλαῖσι πληγαῖς ἄντλον οὐκ ἐδέξατο.
στέγει δὲ πύργος, καὶ πύλας φερεγγύοις
ἐφαρξάμεσθα μονομάχοισι προστάταις.
καλῶς δ' ἔχει τὰ πλεῖστ', ἐν ἓξ πυλώμασιν·
τὰς δ' Ἑβδόμας ὁ σεμνὸς ἑβδομαγέτας
ἄναξ Ἀπόλλων εἵλετ', Οἰδίπου γένει

784 ὀμμάτων *z*: δ' ὀμμάτων *k*: ἀπ' ὀμμάτων I *b*: δ' ἀπ' ὀμμάτων M *b k*. 784 ἐβλάφθη Oberdick: ἐπλάγχθη codd. 785 ἀθλίας Prien: ἀραίας codd. 786 ἐπίκοτος Heath: ἐπικότους codd. 789 διὰ χερὶ Porson: διαχειρίᾳ codd. 792/3 lacuna posited by Blomfield. 799 δ' M^{s} *k*: om. M I *b k*.

116 Probably referring to the story in the epic *Thebais* (fr. 3 West) that Oedipus cursed his sons when they insulted him by sending him an inferior cut of meat from a sacrifice.

and angered with his sons
for their wretched maintenance of him[116] he let fly at
them
(ah, ah!) the curses of a bitter tongue,
that they would actually one day
divide his property between them
with iron-wielding hand. And now I tremble
lest the swift-footed[117] Fury may fulfil this.

A MESSENGER *enters from the direction of the battlefield.*

MESSENGER

Have no fear, you daughters born of ‹noble Cadmean› mothers:[118] this city has escaped the yoke of slavery. The boasts of mighty men have fallen to the ground, and as in fair weather, so too when much buffeted by the waves, the city has let no water into her hull. The wall has held, and the champions with whom we reinforced the gates proved reliable in single combat. Things are well for the most part—at six gates; but at the Seventh the victor was the awesome Master of Sevens,[119] Lord Apollo, wreaking the

117 lit. "bent-legged"; in art, running figures were often shown with bent knees.

118 A line appears to have been lost from the text, saying something about the maidens' mothers (and possibly fathers); the words in angled brackets are inserted by the translator for the sake of continuity.

119 This title (ἑβδομαγέτας, lit. "seventh-leader") is probably an *ad hoc* coinage based on epithets of Apollo (ἑβδομαγενής, ἑβδόμειος) referring to his having been born on the seventh day of the month and on others that contain the element -αγέτην "leader" (e.g. μοιραγέτης, μουσαγέτης).

κραίνων παλαιὰς Λαΐου δυσβουλίας.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

803 τί δ' ἐστι πρᾶγμα νεόκοτον πόλει πλέον;

ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ

805 ἄνδρες τεθνᾶσιν ἐκ χερῶν αὐτοκτόνων.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

τίνες; τί δ' εἶπας; παραφρονῶ φόβῳ λόγου.

ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ

φρονοῦσά νυν ἄκουσον· Οἰδίπου τόκοι—

ΧΟΡΟΣ

808 οἳ 'γὼ τάλαινα, μάντις εἰμὶ τῶν κακῶν.

ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ

< >

ΧΟΡΟΣ

< >

ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ

809 οὐδ' ἀμφιλέκτως μὴν κατεσποδημένοι

ΧΟΡΟΣ

810 ἐκεῖθι κεῖσθον; βαρέα δ' οὖν ὅμως φράσον.

{804} πόλις σέσωσται, βασιλεῖς (βασιλέως M *b'*) δ' ὁμόσποροι (-ον *b'*) M *b k*: om. I, del. Porson.

807 τόκοι Heimsoeth: τόκος M: γένος M^s I *b k*.

808/9 lacuna posited by Paley.

consequences of Laius' old act of unwisdom upon the offspring of Oedipus.

CHORUS

What further untoward thing has happened to the city?

MESSENGER

The men have died at each other's hands.

CHORUS

Who? What are you saying? Your words are frightening me out of my mind.

MESSENGER

Collect yourself, and listen. The sons of Oedipus—

CHORUS

Ah, wretched me! I can foresee the worst!

MESSENGER

< >

CHORUS

< >[120]

MESSENGER

—nor is there any doubt that they were smitten down—

CHORUS

And lie there? It is grievous news, but all the same, say it.

120 The lost line spoken by the Messenger may have meant something like "not hesitating to fight each other"; the Chorus will have interjected another anxious, impatient or horrified comment.

ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ

αὐτοὺς ὁμαίμοις χερσὶν ἠναίροντ᾽ ἄγαν.
οὕτως ὁ δαίμων κοινὸς ἦν ἀμφοῖν ἅμα,
αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἀναλοῖ δῆτα δύσποτμον γένος.
τοιαῦτα χαίρειν καὶ δακρύεσθαι πάρα,
πόλιν μὲν εὖ πράσσουσαν, οἱ δ᾽ ἐπιστάται,
διὸσσὼ στρατηγώ, διέλαχον σφυρηλάτῳ
Σκύθῃ σιδήρῳ κτημάτων παμπησίαν·
ἔξουσι δ᾽ ἣν λάβωσιν ἐν ταφῇ χθονός,
πατρὸς κατ᾽ εὐχὰς δυσπότμως φορούμενοι.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

{ὦ μεγάλε Ζεῦ καὶ πολιοῦχοι
δαίμονες, οἳ δὴ Κάδμου πύργους
τούσδε ῥύεσθαι < >,
πότερον χαίρω κἀπολολύξω
πόλεως ἀσινεῖ †σωτῆρι†,
ἢ τοὺς μογέρους καὶ δυσδαίμονας
ἀτέκνους κλαύσω πολεμάρχους,

811 *αὐτοὺς* Hartung, *ὁμαίμοις* Weil: *οὕτως ἀδελφαῖς* codd.
819 *δυσπότμως x*: *δυσπότμους* M I *b k*.
{820–1} *πόλις σέσωται, βασιλέοιν δ᾽ ὁμοσπόροιν*
πέπωκεν αἷμα γαῖ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἀλλήλων φόνῳ
(vel sim.) codd.: del. Butler.
{822–31} del. Verrall.
822 *πολιοῦχοι* Pauw: *πολισ(σ)οῦχοι* codd.
824 *ῥύεσθαι* M^{ac} *k*: *ῥύεσθε* M^{pc} I *b k*.
824 lacuna posited by Dindorf: <*μεμέλησθε*> West.
826 *σωτῆρι* M I *b*: *σωτηρίᾳ b k*: *σωτῆρι* <*τύχῃ*> Scholefield.

MESSENGER

They killed each other with hands that all too truly shared the same blood. Thus the controlling power[121] was one and the same for both, and he has himself utterly destroyed that ill-fated family. Such are the things we have to rejoice and to weep over: the city is faring well, but its chiefs, the leaders of the two armies,[122] have had the whole possession of their inheritance divided between them by hammered Scythian iron: they will have so much of the land as they will take in burial, having been swept away to an evil fate in accordance with their father's curse.

He departs.

CHORUS[123]

{O great Zeus and you gods of the city,
who ‹have shown your concern› to save
these walls of Cadmus,
shall I hail with shouts of joy
the unharmed salvation of the city,
or shall I weep for the wretched, ill-starred,
childless warlords

121 ὁ δαίμων seems at first to denote a power, not clearly personalized, governing the brothers' fate; but αὐτός "he himself" turns our thoughts towards a personal divinity, evidently Apollo.

122 It is now irrelevant, and forgotten, that the attacking army was actually commanded by Adrastus: all attention is to be concentrated on the two dead brothers.

123 Abnormalities of language, metre and sense make it unlikely that Aeschylus was responsible for the anapaests 822–31; see R. D. Dawe in Dawe et al. ed. *Dionysiaca: Nine Studies . . . presented to Sir Denys Page* (Cambridge, 1978) 88–9.

οἳ δῆτ' ὀρθῶς κατ' ἐπωνυμίαν
830 ‹ἐτεοκλειεῖς› καὶ πολυνεικεῖς
ὤλοντ' ἀσεβεῖ διανοίᾳ;

στρ. α ὦ μέλαινα καὶ τελεία
γένεος Οἰδίπου τ' ἀρά·
κακόν με καρδίαν τι περιπίτνει κρύος.
835 ἔτευξα τύμβῳ μέλος
θυιὰς αἱματοσταγεῖς
νεκροὺς κλυοῦσα δυσμόρως
θανόντας· ἦ δύσορνις ἀ-
δε ξυναυλία δορός.

ἀντ. α ἐξέπραξεν, οὐδ' ἀπεῖπεν
841 πατρόθεν εὐκταία φάτις·
βουλαὶ δ' ἄπιστοι Λαΐου διήρκεσαν.
μέριμνα δ' ἀμφὶ πτόλιν·
θέσφατ' οὐκ ἀμβλύνεται.
845 ἰὼ πολύστονοι, τόδ' ἠρ-
γάσασθ' †ἄπιστον†· ἦλθε δ' αἰ-
ακτὰ πήματ' οὐ λόγῳ.

830 lacuna suspected by Stanley: ‹ἐτεοκλειεῖς› Hutchinson (-κληεῖς Petersen).
834 καρδίαν M(?) *x*: καρδία or καρδίᾳ M^s I *b k*.
846 ἄπιστον (from 842) codd.: ἄλαστον Stadtmüller.

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124 The etymological meanings of the names Eteocles and Polynices respectively.

125 Or "there is anxiety concerning the city", in which case the

who have verily perished in a manner appropriate to
their names—
with "true glory" and with "much strife"[124]—
because of their impious thoughts?}

O black, fulfilled curse
of the family and of Oedipus!
A terrible chill descends about my heart.
In maenad-like frenzy I fashion
a song for their tomb, having heard
about these blood-dripping corpses that die
so wretchedly: truly ill-omened
was this spear-duet!

It took full effect, it did not fail,
the father's cursing word;
the disobedient decision of Laius has been a lasting
force.
There is lamentation throughout the city:[125]
oracles do not lose their edge.
O much-mourned pair, this thing you have done
is <atrocious>![126] Sufferings have come
that cannot be talked about, only bewailed.[127]

point of the next line would be that it is still possible that the oracle given to Laius (748–9) may be fulfilled by the destruction of the city (cf. 764–5). On the rendering of 843 here preferred, 844 will be expressing not apprehension for the future, but a reflection on the present.

126 The mss. read "incredible" (ἄπιστον, the same word used of Laius' "disobedient" decision in 842); the text cannot be confidently emended.

127 lit. "sufferings . . . fit to be bewailed, not in word".

μεσῳδ. α τάδ' αὐτόδηλα· πρεπτὸς ἀγγέλου λόγος·
διπλαῖν μερίμναιν δίδυμ' †ἀνορέα† κακά·
αὐτοφόνα δίμορα τέλεα τάδε πάθη. τί φῶ;
τί δ' ἄλλο γ' ἢ "πόνοι δόμων ἐφέστιοι";
ἀλλὰ γόων, ὦ φίλαι, κατ' οὖρον
ἐρέσσετ' ἀμφὶ κρατὶ πόμπιμον χεροῖν
πίτυλον, ὃς αἰὲν δι' Ἀχέροντ' ἀμείβεται,
ἄνοστον μελάγκροκον
ναυστολῶν θεωρίδα
τὰν ἀστιβῆ Παιῶνι, τὰν ἀνάλιον,
πάνδοκον εἰς ἀφανῆ τε χέρσον.

848 πρεπτὸς M(?) I: τρεπτὸς γρI *b* (?): προῦπτος vel sim. M^2 *b k*. 849 διπλαῖν μερίμναιν M^{ac}: διπλαῖ (or δίπλαι) μέριμναι M^{pc} I *b k*: διπλᾷ μερίμνᾳ Hutchinson.

849 διδυμανορεα (with varying accents and elision-marks) codd. (-ορα *k'*)· δίδυμα νῦν ὁρῶ Hutchinson.

850 δίμορα τέλεα Hermann: δίμοιρα τέλεια codd. 852 δόμων Robortello: πόνων δόμων codd.: πόνων Heimsoeth.

857 ἄνοστον West (τὰν ἄνοστον Tucker): τὰν (τὸν *b'*) ἄστονον codd. *t*: τὰν ἄστολον Thom.

858 ναυστολῶν *b* (?), Schwenck: ναύστολον codd.

859 Παιῶνι Ahrens: Ἀπόλλωνι codd.

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128 Head-beating, a common gesture of mourning, is here compared to the rhythmic beat of a ship's oars.

129 The river, or lake, in the underworld, across which Charon was usually imagined as ferrying the souls of the dead. In the picture created here, it is the words and actions of the mourners that provide the motive power to take souls across the water on that final journey.

The bodies of ETEOCLES *and* POLYNICES *are brought on, and laid down side by side.*

Here it is, plain to see; the messenger's words are visible reality;
with double lamentation <I now behold(?)> this twin disaster;
the sad event is fulfilled, a double death by kindred hands. What shall I say?
What else but that suffering is a resident in the house?
Friends, with the wind of lamentation in your sails
ply in accompaniment the regular beating of hands on head,[128]
which is for ever crossing the Acheron,[129]
propelling on a sacred mission from which there is no return[130]
the black-sailed ship,
on which Apollo Paeon never treads[131] and the sun never shines,
to the invisible shores that welcome all.

130 Alluding to the sacred ship sent annually by the Athenians to Delos in honour of Apollo, in commemoration, it was said, of the ship that Aegeus sent to Crete with seven youths and seven maidens, destined as a tribute for the Minotaur, whom Theseus rescued (cf. Plato, *Phaedo* 58a-c). On the return voyage Theseus forgot to change the black sail for a red or white one, so that Aegeus thought he was dead and committed suicide (Simonides, *PMG* 550—who makes the unused sail a red one; Catullus 64.225–45; Plutarch, *Theseus* 17.4–5, 22.1). The ship of the dead *always* has black sails.

131 Mourning was abhorrent to Apollo (*Agamemnon* 1074–9).

{ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἥκουσ' αἴδ' ἐπὶ πρᾶγος
πικρὸν Ἀντιγόνη τ' ἠδ' Ἰσμήνη·
θρῆνον ἀδελφοῖν οὐκ ἀμφιβόλως
οἶμαί σφ' ἐρατῶν ἐκ βαθυκόλπων
στηθέων ἥσειν· ἄλγος ἐπάξιον·
ἡμᾶς δὲ δίκη πρότερον φήμης
< >
τὸν δυσκέλαδόν θ' ὕμνον Ἐρινύος
ἠχεῖν Ἀΐδα τ'
ἐχθρὸν παιᾶν' ἐπιμέλπειν.
ἰὼ
δυσαδελφόταται πασῶν ὁπόσαι
στρόφον ἐσθῆσιν περιβάλλονται·
κλαίω, στένομαι, καὶ δόλος οὐδεὶς
μη 'κ φρενὸς ὀρθῶς με λιγαίνειν.}

ΗΜΙΧΟΡΙΟΝ Α

στρ. β ἰὼ ἰὼ δύσφρονες,
φίλων ἄπιστοι καὶ κακῶν ἀτρύμονες,
δόμους ἑλόντες πατρῴ-
ους μέλεοι ξὺν αἰχμᾷ.

{861–74} rejected as spurious by Bergk.

866/7 lacuna posited by Weil, suggesting <ἐπακούσασας> (cf. ΣMI ὡς προακουσάσας).

868 ἠχεῖν Elmsley: ἰαχεῖν vel sim. codd.

877 δόμους ἑλόντες πατρῴους Weil: πατρ. δόμ. ἑλ. M I *b k*: δόμ. πατρ. ἑλ. *z*.

877 αἰχμᾷ γρM γρ*b*′: ἀκμῇ *k*: ἀλκᾷ M I *b k*.

{*Enter* ANTIGONE *and* ISMENE.[132]

But here come Antigone and Ismene
to fulfil a bitter duty.
I think they will undoubtedly utter
a lament for their brothers from their lovely
deep bosoms; their grief merits it.
But it is right that we, ‹having heard› the news first,
should raise the unpleasing sound
of the Fury's hymn, and sing
the hateful paean of Hades.
Oh,
you most unhappy in your brothers of all
who bind a sash round their garments!
I weep, I groan, and there is no deceit about it—
I am raising my voice sincerely from the heart.}

FIRST SEMICHORUS[133]

Oh, oh, foolish ones,
who ignored friendly advice, whom disaster could not
deter,
wretched ones, who captured
your own father's house with the point of the spear!

132 The sisters were added to the cast when the end of the play was reshaped; see Introduction.

133 At certain points (877, 895, 933) the text makes it clear that this lament is sung by two (groups of) voices in alternation, and many mss. mark the change-points fairly regularly (though none marks them all).

HMIXOPION B

μέλεοι δῆθ', οἳ μελέους θανάτους
ηὕροντο δόμων ἐπὶ λύμῃ.

HMIXOPION A

ἀντ. β ἰὼ ἰὼ δωμάτων
ἐρεψίτοιχοι καὶ πικρὰς μοναρχίας

ἰδόντες, ἤδη διήλ-
λαχθε σὺν σιδάρῳ.

HMIXOPION B

κάρτα δ' ἀληθῆ πατρὸς Οἰδιπόδα
πότνι' Ἐρινὺς ἐπέκρανεν.

HMIXOPION A

στρ. γ δι' εὐωνύμων τετυμμένοι,
τετυμμένοι δῆθ', ὁμο-
σπλάγχνων τε πλευρώματων
< >·
αἰαῖ δαιμόνιοι,
αἰαῖ δὴ θανάτων ἀντιφόνων ἀραί.

HMIXOPION B

διανταίαν λέγεις δόμοισι καὶ
σώμασιν πεπληγμένους
ἀναυδάτῳ μένει

890/1 lacuna posited by Lachmann: <φίλας τε κραδίας> e.g. Wilamowitz.

SECOND SEMICHORUS

Wretched ones indeed, who found themselves
wretched deaths, to the ruin of their house!

FIRST SEMICHORUS

Oh, oh, you who sent crashing in ruin
the walls of your home, who found a bitter end
to your dreams of sole rulership,[134] now
you are reconciled—by steel.

SECOND SEMICHORUS

And the mighty Fury of your father Oedipus
fulfilled itself in very truth.

FIRST SEMICHORUS

Stricken through your left sides,
yes, stricken, through
the ribs moulded in the same womb
< >.
Alas, you possessed ones!
Alas, the curse that doomed you to mutual death!

SECOND SEMICHORUS

You speak of them as being struck a blow
that was fatal for their house as well as their bodies,
struck by the silent power

134 lit. "who saw bitter monarchies".

892–3 δὴ *θανάτων ἀντιφόνων* West: δ' *ἀντιφόνων θανάτων* codd.

895 λέγεις Elmsley: λέγεις *πλαγὰν* codd.

896 *πεπληγμένους* Schwenck: *πεπληγμένους ἐννέπω* (*ἐνέπω* M^{ac} *b'*) codd.

ἀραίῳ τ᾽ ἐκ πατρὸς
οὐ διχόφρονι πότμῳ.

HMIXOPION A

ἀντ. γ διήκει δὲ καὶ πόλιν στόνος·
στένουσι πύργοι, στένει
πέδον φίλανδρον· μένει
κτέανα †τ᾽ ἐπιγόνοις†,
δι᾽ ὧν αἰνομόροις,
δι᾽ ὧν νεῖκος ἔβα καὶ θανάτου τέλος.

HMIXOPION B

ἐμοιράσαντο δ᾽ ὀξυκάρδιοι
κτήμαθ᾽ ὥστ᾽ ἴσον λαχεῖν·
διαλλακτῆρι δ᾽ οὐκ
ἀμεμφεία φίλοις,
οὐδ᾽ ἐπίχαρις Ἄρης.

HMIXOPION A

στρ. δ σιδαρόπληκτοι μὲν ὦδ᾽ ἔχουσιν,
σιδαρόπληκτοι δὲ τοὺς μένουσιν,
τάχ᾽ ἄν τις εἴποι, τινὲς
τάφων πατρῴων λαχαί.

899 *οὐ* Wecklein: om. codd.
903 *τ᾽ ἐπιγόνοις* M I *b k*: *ἐπιγόνοις k*: *δ᾽ ἐπιγόνοις x*: Σ^{M} paraphrases with *ἄλλοις*.
909 *ἀμεμφεία k*: *ἀμεμφία* M I *b k*.

and the unambiguous doom
of their father's curse.

FIRST SEMICHORUS

Grieving has spread right through the city:
the walls groan, and so
does the soil that loved these men; their property
awaits ‹new owners›,[135]
that property over which a dreadful fate came to them,
over which came strife and death as its end.

SECOND SEMICHORUS

With whetted hearts they parted
their possessions, so as to gain equal lots;
but their friends do not see
their reconciler[136] as free of blame,
or Ares as pleasing.

FIRST SEMICHORUS

By the stroke of iron they are as they are now,
and there await them, one might well say,
portions of their father's sepulchre
dug[137] by the stroke of iron.

135 The transmitted text has the property awaiting *ἐπίγονοι*: but in the Theban saga *ἐπίγονοι* denotes the sons of the Seven, who later avenged their fathers by capturing and destroying Thebes, and any allusion to them here would clash with the assumption, basic to the last third of this play, that the house of Laius is now extinct. Moreover, the first of two paraphrases offered by the scholia in M says merely "*others* will have the property for which they [the brothers] perished".

136 viz. Iron (cf. 727–33, 816–17, 884–5, 941–3).

137 The noun *λαχή* can be taken as meaning either "an allotted portion" (~*λαγχάνω*) or "something dug" (~*λαχαίνω*).

HMIXOPION B

915 ἀχάεις δόμων μάλ᾽ αὐτοὺς
προπέμπει δαϊκτὴρ
γόος αὐτόστονος, αὐτοπήμων,
δαϊόφρων, οὐ φιλογα-
θής, ἐτύμως δακρυχέων
920 ἐκ φρενός, ἃ κλαιομένας μου μινύθει
τοῖνδε δυοῖν ἀνάκτοιν.

HMIXOPION A

ἀντ. δ πάρεστι δ᾽ εἰπεῖν ἐπ᾽ ἀθλίοισιν
ὡς ἐρξάτην πολλὰ μὲν πολίτας
ξένων τ᾽ ἐπακτῶν στίχας
925 πολυφθόρους ἐν δαΐ.

HMIXOPION B

δυσδαίμων σφιν ἁ τεκοῦσα
πρὸ πασᾶν γυναικῶν
ὁπόσαι τεκνογόνοι κέκληνται·
παῖδα τὸν αὐτᾶς πόσιν αὐ-
930 τὰ θεμένα τούσδ᾽ ἔτεχ᾽, οἳ δ᾽
ὧδ᾽ ἐτελεύτασαν ὑπ᾽ ἀλλαλοφόνοις
χερσὶν ὁμοσπόροισιν.

915 ἀχάεις δόμων μάλ᾽ αὐτοὺς West: δόμων μάλ᾽ codd., followed by ἀχαεις (sscr. ἀχηεις) τοὺς I, ἀχάεσσα τοὺσ M, ἀχὰ (or ἀχὼ) ἐς (or εἰς or ἐπ᾽) αὐτοὺς or αὐτοὺς ἀχὼ or ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἀχὼ *b k*.

918 δαϊόφρων Blomfield: δαΐφρων codd.

918 οὐ *x*: δ᾽ οὐ M I *b k*. 924 τ᾽ ἐπακτῶν Meineke: τε πάντων M I *b k*: τ᾽ ἐς πάντων *b k*.

SECOND SEMICHORUS

They are accompanied to the grave
by the loud-sounding, heart-rending
wailing of a house that grieves for itself, that feels its
own pain,
the wailing of a miserable heart that rejects all joy,
truly pouring tears
from a heart that withers as I lament
over these two princes.[138]

FIRST SEMICHORUS

One can say over these unhappy men
that they did much to their fellow-citizens
and to the ranks of foreigners brought from abroad,
many of whom were destroyed in battle.

SECOND SEMICHORUS

Unhappy is she who bore them
beyond all women
who are called mothers of children:[139]
she made her own child
her husband, and bore these sons, and they
have perished thus at each other's
fraternal, slaughtering hands.

[138] It is illogical that this chorus of citizen maidens should speak in the name of the bereaved, mourning palace; but the chorus of Argive elders in *Agamemnon* do likewise (*Ag.* 1482–3, 1532, 1565–6).

[139] This does not in itself imply that the mother is still alive.

HMIXOPION A

στρ. ε ὁμόσποροι δῆτα καὶ πανώλεθροι
διατομαῖσιν οὐ φίλαις
935 ἔριδι μαινομένᾳ
νείκεος ἐν τελευτᾷ.

HMIXOPION B

πέπαυται δ' ἔχθος, ἐν δὲ γαίᾳ
ζοὰ φονορύτῳ
940 μέμεικται· κάρτα δ' εἴσ' ὅμαιμοι.
πικρὸς λυτὴρ νεικέων ὁ πόντιος
ξεῖνος ἐκ πυρὸς συθείς,
θηκτὸς Σίδαρος· πικρὸς δὲ χρημάτων
945 κακὸς δατητὰς Ἄρης, ἀρὰν πατρῴ-
αν τιθεὶς ἀλαθῆ.

HMIXOPION A

ἀντ. ε ἔχουσι μοῖραν λαχόντες, ὦ μέλεοι,
διὰ διοσδότων ἀχέων·
ὑπὸ δὲ σώματι γᾶς
950 πλοῦτος ἄβυσσος ἔσται.

HMIXOPION B

ἰὼ πολλοῖς ἐπανθίσαντες
πόνοισι γενεάν.

945–6 πατρῴαν Bothe: πατρὸς codd.
948 διὰ West: om. codd.
952 πόνοισι γενεάν Hermann, cf. Σ^{BH}: πόνοισι γενεὰν πόνοισί γε δόμους M: πόνοισί γε δόμους (δόμοι or δόμοις *b' k*) I *b k*.

FIRST SEMICHORUS

Fraternal indeed, but utterly destroyed
by a parting[140] that was not friendly
in an insane conflict
that put a stop to their strife.

SECOND SEMICHORUS

Their hatred is ended, and their life-strength
is mingled in the earth
as it flows with gore: truly they are of one blood!
A harsh resolver of disputes is the visitor
from the sea,[141] who comes out of fire,
whetted Iron, and harsh too is Ares,
that evil divider of property, who has made
the father's curse come true.

FIRST SEMICHORUS

They have received their allotted portion, the wretched pair,
through suffering sent by Zeus;
under their bodies there will be
a limitless wealth of land.[142]

SECOND SEMICHORUS

O you who have adorned your family—
with many sorrows!

140 Greek διατομαῖν, lit. "cuttings-apart", alludes (i) to the anticipated friendly parting of Hector and Ajax after their duel at Troy (*Iliad* 7.302), (ii) to the division of Oedipus' inheritance, and (iii) to the wounds the brothers inflicted on each other.

141 Or "from the Black Sea".

142 i.e. the real estate they will receive, though in length and breadth it is only so much as suffices for a grave, is of infinite *depth*!

τελευταῖσιν δ' ἐπηλάλαξαν
Ἀραὶ τὸν ὀξὺν νόμον, τετραμμένου
παντρόπῳ φυγᾷ γένους·
ἔστακε δ' Ἄτας τρόπαιον ἐν πύλαις
ἐν αἷς ἐθείνοντο, καὶ δυοῖν κρατή-
σας ἔληξε δαίμων.

HMIXOPION A

μεσῳδ. β παιθεὶς ἔπαισας.

HMIXOPION B

σὺ δ' ἔθανες κατακτανών.

HMIXOPION A

δορὶ δ' ἔκανες.

HMIXOPION B

δορὶ δ' ἔθανες.

HMIXOPION A

μελεοπόνος—

HMIXOPION B

μελεοπαθὴς—

954 τελευταῖσιν δ' Hutchinson: τελευτᾷ (-ταῖα *b' k'*) δ' αἴδ' (om. *b' k'*) codd.: τελευταῖαι δ' E.A.J. Ahrens.
961 παιθεὶς Wilamowitz: παισθεὶς codd.
962 ἔκανες *t*: ἔκτανες codd.

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143 Equivalent to "Furies" (cf. 70). In the last lines of this antistrophe, for the battle at the gates between the Thebans and the Argives is substituted a battle between the House of Laius and the

Over your deaths the Curses[143] have shrilled
their high-pitched cry of triumph, having put the family
to flight in utter rout.
Ruin's trophy stands at the gate
at which they were struck down, and the controlling
power
has defeated two men and ended its work.

FIRST SEMICHORUS[144]
You struck after being struck.

SECOND SEMICHORUS
You were killed after killing.[145]

FIRST SEMICHORUS
You killed with the spear.

SECOND SEMICHORUS
You died by the spear.

FIRST SEMICHORUS
Having striven grievously—

SECOND SEMICHORUS
Having suffered grievously—

powers of destruction (the Curses, Ruin and the δαίμων) ending in decisive victory for the latter.

144 These brief responsive phrases may have been sung by individual voices from the two halves of the chorus. In the mss. they are mostly ascribed to Antigone and Ismene, and this was doubtless the intention of the producer who introduced these characters.

145 This implies a scenario like that narrated in Euripides, *Phoenician Maidens* 1404–22: brother A gives B a mortal wound, but B with his last strength kills A.

HMIXOPION A

πρόκεισαι.

HMIXOPION B

965 κατέκτας.

HMIXOPION A

ἴτω γόος.

HMIXOPION B

964 ἴτω δάκρυ.

HMIXOPION A

στρ. ζ ἠέ.

HMIXOPION B

ἠέ.

HMIXOPION A

μαίνεται γόοισι φρήν.

HMIXOPION B

ἐντὸς δὲ καρδία στένει.

HMIXOPION A

ἰὼ ἰὼ πάνδυρτε σύ.

HMIXOPION B

970 σὺ δ' αὖτε καὶ πανάθλιε.

HMIXOPION A

πρὸς φίλου ἔφθισο.

964/5 transposed by Hartung.

965 πρόκεισαι Hermann: πρόκειται *b*: προκείσεται (προσκ- M^{ac}) M I *b k*.

FIRST SEMICHORUS

You lie dead.

SECOND SEMICHORUS

You have killed.

FIRST SEMICHORUS

Let lamentation flow.

SECOND SEMICHORUS

Let tears flow.

FIRST SEMICHORUS

Aiee!

SECOND SEMICHORUS

Aiee!

FIRST SEMICHORUS

My mind is mad with grief.

SECOND SEMICHORUS

My heart groans within me.

FIRST SEMICHORUS

Oh, oh, you are utterly to be bewailed!

SECOND SEMICHORUS

And you, for your part, are in utter wretchedness!

FIRST SEMICHORUS

You died at kindred hands.

---

965 *κατέκτας* Heimsoeth: *κατακτάς* codd.

964 *δάκρυ b*: om. *b*: *δάκρυα* M I *b k t.*

969 *πάνδυρτε* Ritschl: *πανδάκρυτε* M I *b k*: *πολυδάκρυτε b k.*

971 *φίλου b*: *φίλου γ'* M I *b k.*

HMIXOPION B

καὶ φίλον ἔκτανες.

HMIXOPION A

διπλᾶ λέγειν—

HMIXOPION B

διπλᾶ δ' ὁρᾶν—

HMIXOPION A

ἄχεα †τοίων† τάδ' ἐγγύθεν.

HMIXOPION B

πέσεα δ' ἀδέλφ' ἀδελφεῶν.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

975 ἰὼ
Μοῖρα βαρυδότειρα μογερὰ
πότνιά τ' Οἰδίπου σκιά·
μέλαιν' Ἐρινύς, ἦ μεγασθενής τις εἶ.

HMIXOPION A

ἀντ. ζ ἠέ.

HMIXOPION B

ἠέ.

HMIXOPION A

δυσθέατα πήματα—

HMIXOPION B

ἐδείξατ' ἐκ φυγᾶς ἐμοί—

973 ἄχεα Hermann: ἀχέω "an old copy" cited by Σ^{Th}: ἀχέων codd.

SECOND SEMICHORUS

You slew a kindred man.

FIRST SEMICHORUS

Double to speak of—

SECOND SEMICHORUS

And double to behold—

FIRST SEMICHORUS

Are the sufferings of these <two(?)> close together here.

SECOND SEMICHORUS

Like brothers these brothers have fallen.

CHORUS

O Destiny, grievous dispenser of heavy fate,
and mighty shade of Oedipus!
O black Fury, truly you are powerful!

FIRST SEMICHORUS

Aiee!

SECOND SEMICHORUS

Aiee!

FIRST SEMICHORUS

Suffering hard to look on—

SECOND SEMICHORUS

He made me see, caused by his banishment.

---

973 τοίων codd.: δνοῖν Enger.
974 πέσεα δ' West: πέλας δ' (om. *b' k'*) αἴδ' (αἴτ' *b'*) codd.
974 ἀδέλφ' vel sim. *b*: ἀδελφαὶ M I *b k*.
976 (and 988) μέλαιν' Porson: μέλαινά τ' codd.

ΗΜΙΧΟΡΙΟΝ Α

οὐδ' ἵκεθ', ὡς κατέκτανεν.

ΗΜΙΧΟΡΙΟΝ Β

συθεὶς δὲ πνεῦμ' ἀπώλεσεν.

ΗΜΙΧΟΡΙΟΝ Α

ὤλεσε δῆτα, ναί.

ΗΜΙΧΟΡΙΟΝ Β

τόνδε δ' ἐνόσφισεν.

ΗΜΙΧΟΡΙΟΝ Α

ὀλοὰ λέγειν—

ΗΜΙΧΟΡΙΟΝ Β

ὀλοὰ δ' ὁρᾶν—

ΗΜΙΧΟΡΙΟΝ Α

†δύστονα κήδε' ὁμώνυμα.†

ΗΜΙΧΟΡΙΟΝ Β

διερὰ τρίπαλτα πήματα.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἰὼ
Μοῖρα βαρυδότειρα μογερὰ
πότνιά τ' Οἰδίπου σκιά·
μέλαιν' Ἐρινύν, ἦ μεγασθενήν τιν εἶ.

981 συθεὶς *b k*: σωθεὶς M I *b k*.
982 ὤλεσε *z*: ἀπώλεσε(ν) codd.
982 δῆτα, ναί. τόνδε δ' Hermann: δῆτα. καὶ τόνδ' codd.

FIRST SEMICHORUS

He did not come back after he had killed.[146]

SECOND SEMICHORUS

He came, and lost his life.

FIRST SEMICHORUS

Yes, he lost it indeed.

SECOND SEMICHORUS

And slew this other.

FIRST SEMICHORUS

Terrible to speak of—

SECOND SEMICHORUS

And terrible to behold—

FIRST SEMICHORUS

Are these lamentable kindred sorrows[147]—

SECOND SEMICHORUS

These still-fresh, thrice-hurled[148] sufferings.

CHORUS

O Destiny, grievous dispenser of heavy fate,
and mighty shade of Oedipus!
O black Fury, truly you are powerful!

146 This probably refers to Eteocles, who had gone out of the city to fight his brother; in the next line the reference is to Polyneices' return from Argos. 147 Textual corruption makes the exact meaning of this line wholly uncertain.

148 τρίπαλτος (which occurs only here) ought etymologically to mean something like "thrice brandished", referring to a weapon; it may possibly refer to the three generations of suffering in the house of Laius (cf. 742ff), which have been enacted in the three plays of the trilogy.

HMIXOPION A

ἐπῳδ. *σύ τοι νιν οἶσθα διαπερῶν—*

HMIXOPION B

990 *σὺ δ' οὐδὲν ὕστερος μαθών—*

HMIXOPION A

ἐπεὶ κατῆλθες εἰς πόλιν—

HMIXOPION B

992 *δορός γε τῷδ' ἀντηρέτας.*

HMIXOPION A

τάλαν γένος—

HMIXOPION B

983 *τάλανα παθόν.*

HMIXOPION A

ἰὼ πόνος—

HMIXOPION B

994 *ἰὼ κακά—*

HMIXOPION A

δώμασιν—

993 (*ὀλοὰ λέγειν, ὀλοὰ δ' ὁρᾶν*) transposed into place of 983 (and vice versa) by Wilamowitz: codd. have it after 985 and also after 992.

984 so codd. (*δύστηνα* I): *ὁμαίμονα* (for *ὁμώνυμα*) Haupt.

985 *διερὰ* Heimsoeth, *τρίπαλτα* Hüttemann, *πήματα* Hermann: cf. Σ^{MIWV} *ζῶντα πήματα χεόμενα καὶ πολλά*: *δινγρὰ τριπάλτων πημάτων* codd.

983 cf. on 993 above. 983 *παθόν* (*πάθον*) *k*: *καὶ πάθον* vel sim. M I *b k*: *καὶ πάθη b*.

FIRST SEMICHORUS

You know about it[149] for sure, having experienced it—

SECOND SEMICHORUS

And you too, having learned not a moment later—

FIRST SEMICHORUS

When you came back to the city—

SECOND SEMICHORUS

To combat[150] this man with the spear.

FIRST SEMICHORUS

Wretched race—

SECOND SEMICHORUS

That has suffered wretchedly!

FIRST SEMICHORUS

Oh, the toil—

SECOND SEMICHORUS

Oh, the trouble—

FIRST SEMICHORUS

—for the house—

149 viz. the power of the Fury.
150 lit. "row against", cf. 283.

HMIXOPION B

καὶ χθονί.

HMIXOPION A

ἰὼ ἰὼ δυστόνων κακῶν, ἄναξ.

HMIXOPION B

<ἰὼ ἰὼ >

HMIXOPION A

ἰώ, πάντα πολυπονώτατοι.

HMIXOPION B

ἰώ, δαιμονῶντες ἄτᾳ.

HMIXOPION A

ἰώ, ποῦ σφε θήσομεν χθονός;

HMIXOPION B

ἰώ, ἔνθα τιμιώτατον.

HMIXOPION A

ἰὼ ἰώ, πῆμα πατρὶ πάρευνον.

{996–7} (Αντ.) πρὸ πάντων δ' ἐμοί. | (Ισμ.) καὶ τὸ πρόσω γ' ἐμοί codd. (997 om. b'; ἰὼ is prefixed to 997 in k', ἰὼ ἰὼ in b', ἰὼ πόνος in b'): del. Wilamowitz. 999 lacuna posited by Hermann: a gloss on 998, Ἐτεόκλεις ἀρχηγέτα, written in the margin by M^s, is made part of the text in b' k' (del. z).

1000–3 ἰώ is doubled by k' in 1000, by b' in 1001, by M^2 b' k in 1002, by k' in 1003. 1000 πάντα West: πάντων codd.

1001 δαιμονῶντες k: δαιμονῶντ' ἐν k: δαιμονῶντες ἐν M I b. 1003 ἔνθα Headlam: ὅπου codd.

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151 After this, in the transmitted text, come two lines which are appropriate only to Antigone and Ismene: "But above all to

SECOND SEMICHORUS
—and the land![151]

FIRST SEMICHORUS
Oh, oh, my prince, your lamentable sufferings!

SECOND SEMICHORUS
<Oh, oh, !>

FIRST SEMICHORUS
Oh, both so much afflicted in every way!

SECOND SEMICHORUS
Oh, both possessed by the spirit of Ruin!

FIRST SEMICHORUS
Oh, where in the land shall we inter them?

SECOND SEMICHORUS
Oh, in the place of greatest honour.

FIRST SEMICHORUS
Oh, oh, a pain to their father, if they sleep where he does![152]

me.—And even more to me." They will have been inserted when the sisters were brought into the play; evidently (and rightly) the adaptor felt that it would be absurd to have the sisters sing a sobbing antiphon like 961–1004 and yet make no reference whatever to their personal grief.

[152] The language irresistibly suggests that to bury Eteocles and Polyneices close to their father would be to inflict on him the same kind of injury that he inflicted on *his* father (to whom he gave pain, and whose bed he unknowingly usurped). Since the first suggestion as to where the brothers should be buried has thus been (at least provisionally) rejected, Aeschylus' text cannot have ended here: once the question of their burial-place has been raised, the bodies cannot be taken off until it has been settled.

* *

{ΚΗΡΥΞ

δοκοῦντα καὶ δόξαντ' ἀπαγγέλλειν με χρὴ
δήμου προβούλοις τῆσδε Καδμείας πόλεως.
Ἐτεοκλέα μὲν τόνδ' ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ χθονὸς
θάπτειν ἔδοξε γῆς φίλαις κατασκαφαῖς·
στέγων γὰρ ἐχθροὺς θάνατον εἵλετ' ἐν πύλαις,
ἱερῶν πατρῴων δ' ὅσιος ὢν μομφῆς ἄτερ
τέθνηκεν οὗπερ τοῖς νέοις θνῄσκειν καλόν.
οὕτω μὲν ἀμφὶ τοῦδ' ἐπέσταλται λέγειν·
τούτου δ' ἀδελφόν, τόνδε Πολυνείκους νεκρόν,
ἔξω βαλεῖν ἄθαπτον, ἁρπαγὴν κυσίν,
ὡς ὄντ' ἀναστατῆρα Καδμείων χθονός,
εἰ μὴ θεῶν τις ἐμποδὼν ἔστη δορὶ
τῷ τοῦδ'· ἄγος δὲ καὶ θανὼν κεκτήσεται
θεὼν πατρῴων, οὓς ἀτιμάσας ὅδε
στράτευμ' ἐπακτὸν ἐμβαλὼν ἦρει πόλιν.
οὕτω πετηνῶν τόνδ' ὑπ' οἰωνῶν δοκεῖ
ταφέντ' ἀτίμως τοὐπιτίμιον λαβεῖν,
καὶ μήθ' ὁμαρτεῖν τυμβοχόα χειρώματα
μήτ' ὀξυμόλποις προσσέβειν οἰμώγμασιν,
ἄτιμον εἶναι δ' ἐκφορᾶς φίλων ὕπο.
τοιαῦτ' ἔδοξε τῷδε Καδμείων τέλει.

after 1004 lacuna posited by Prien.
{1005–78} rejected as spurious by Schöll.
1009 *στέγων* Wakefield: *εἴργων k* Σ^{M}: *στυγῶν* M I *b k*.
1009 *πύλαις* Francken: *πόλει* codd.

The last few lines of the original text have been lost; the two semichoruses must have agreed on where Eteocles and Polynices should be buried, and escorted the bodies off stage.

{*Enter a* HERALD.

HERALD

I have to announce the opinion and the decision of the people's council of this city of Cadmus. It has been resolved that Eteocles here, on account of his loyalty to his country, shall be buried in the loving recesses of the earth; for he found death while keeping out the enemy at the gates, and in pious defence of the temples of his fathers he has died blamelessly where it is honourable for the young to die. That is what I have been instructed to say about him; but his brother, the dead Polyneices here, is to be cast out unburied, a prey for the dogs, as one who would have been the destroyer of the land of Cadmus, had not some god stood up to hinder his armed attack. Even in death he shall bear the pollution and curse of his ancestral gods, whom he insulted when he tried to capture the city, bringing a foreign army to attack it. So it is decided that he should get his due reward by receiving a dishonourable funeral from the flying birds; that he should neither lie under a laboriously raised burial-mound[153] nor be dignified with high-pitched musical wailings; and that he should not have the honour of a funeral procession from his family. Such is the decision of the aforementioned Cadmean authorities.

153 The literal sense is apparently meant to be "that neither should mound-raising hand-work accompany him . . .".

ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΗ

ἐγὼ δὲ Καδμείων δὲ προστάταις λέγω·
ἢν μή τις ἄλλος τόνδε συνθάπτειν θέλῃ,
ἐγώ σφε θάψω κἀνὰ κίνδυνον βαλῶ
θάψασ' ἀδελφὸν τὸν ἐμόν, οὐδ' αἰσχύνομαι
ἔχουσ' ἄπιστον τήνδ' ἀναρχίαν πόλει.
δεινὸν τὸ κοινὸν σπλάγχνον οὗ πεφύκαμεν,
μητρὸς ταλαίνης κἀπὸ δυστήνου πατρός.
τοίγαρ θέλουσ' ἄκοντι κοινώνει κακῶν
ψυχή, θανόντι ζῶσα συγγόνῳ φρενί.
τούτου δὲ σάρκας <
> οὐδὲ κοιλογάστορες
λύκοι σπάσονται· μὴ δοκησάτω τινί·
τάφον γὰρ αὐτὴ καὶ κατασκαφὰς ἐγὼ
γυνή περ οὖσα τῷδε μηχανήσομαι,
κόλπῳ φέρουσα βυσσίνου πεπλώματος,
καὐτὴ καλύψω· μηδέ τῳ δόξῃ πάλιν·
θάρσει παρέσται μηχανὴ δραστήριος.

ΚΗΡΥΞ

αὐδῶ πόλιν σε μὴ βιάζεσθαι τάδε.

ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΗ

αὐδῶ σε μὴ περισσὰ κηρύσσειν ἐμοί.

ΚΗΡΥΞ

τραχύς γε μέντοι δῆμος ἐκφυγὼν κακά.

1035 lacuna posited by Prien.
1036 σπάσονται M I *b k*: πάσονται M^{pc} *b k*.
1037 αὐτὴ Pierson: αὐτῷ codd.

ANTIGONE

And *I* say to the leaders of the Cadmeans: if no one else is willing to join in burying this man, I will bury him, I will brave the danger of burying my brother, and I will not be ashamed to display such disobedient insubordination to the city. The power of the common womb from which we are sprung, children of a wretched mother and a miserable father, is a formidable thing. Therefore, my soul, with a sister's heart, living with dead, share willingly in the sufferings that he endures unwillingly. His flesh <shall not be eaten by dogs or birds>[154] nor torn by hollow-bellied wolves—let no one think it will; for I shall myself, woman though I am, contrive to provide him with a funeral and burial, carrying it[155] in the fold of my fine linen robe, and myself cover him up—and let no one think otherwise. Courage will find a means to do it.

HERALD

I tell you not to flout the city's will by doing this.

ANTIGONE

I tell you not to make useless proclamations to me.

HERALD

But a people that has escaped danger can be brutal.

154 A line has apparently been lost from the text, probably because a scribe's eye slipped from a negative word in one line to a similar negative in the next line.

155 The text does not make it clear what she will be carrying (strictly interpreted, indeed, it ought to mean she will be carrying the body itself!); but the writer expected his audience to understand that she would bring earth to throw over the body (cf. Sophocles, *Antigone* 249–56).

ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΗ

τράχυν'· ἄθαπτος δ' οὗτος οὐ γενήσεται.

ΚΗΡΥΞ

ἀλλ' ὃν πόλις στυγεῖ, σὺ τιμήσεις τάφῳ;

ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΗ

εἰ δὴ τὰ †τοῦδ' οὐ διατετίμηται† θεοῖς.

ΚΗΡΥΞ

οὔ, πρίν γε χώραν τήνδε κινδύνῳ βαλεῖν.

ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΗ

παθὼν κακῶς κακοῖσιν ἀντημείβετο.

ΚΗΡΥΞ

ἀλλ' εἰς ἅπαντας ἀνθ' ἑνὸς τόδ' ἔργον ἦν.

ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΗ

Ἔρις περαίνει μῦθον ὑστάτη θεῶν.
ἐγὼ δὲ θάψω τόνδε· μὴ μακρηγόρει.

ΚΗΡΥΞ

ἀλλ' αὐτόβουλος ἴσθ'· ἀπεννέπω δ' ἐγώ.

ΗΜΙΧΟΡΙΟΝ Α

φεῦ φεῦ·
ὦ μεγάλαυχοι καὶ φθερσιγενεῖς

1047 εἰ δὴ anon.: ἤδη I *b k*: ἤθη M.
1047 τοῦδ' οὐ διατετίμηται codd.: perh. e.g. τοῦδέ γ' οὐκ ἀτιμᾶται.

ANTIGONE

Be brutal! But this man is not going to remain unburied.

HERALD

This man whom the city hates, you are going to honour him by burial?

ANTIGONE

Yes, if his rights are not dishonoured by the gods.[156]

HERALD

They weren't, until he cast this country into danger.

ANTIGONE

He was retaliating with harm for the harm he had suffered.

HERALD

But he retaliated against the whole people for the act of just one.

ANTIGONE

Contentiousness always wants the last word![157] I'm going to bury him; don't argue any more.

HERALD

Well, be self-willed! But I forbid it.

He leaves.

FIRST SEMICHORUS [*now grouped, with* ANTIGONE, *around Polyneices' body*]

Alas, alas!
O you vaunting destroyers of families,

156 The line as transmitted is unintelligible, but the context requires some such sense as this. 157 lit. "Eris (strife, contentiousness) is the last of the gods to finish talking."

Κῆρες Ἐρινύες, αἵτ' Οἰδιπόδα
γένος ὠλέσατε πρυμνόθεν οὕτως.
τί πάθω; τί δὲ δρῶ; τί δὲ μήσωμαι;
πῶς τολμήσω μήτε σε κλαίειν
μήτε προπέμπειν ἐπὶ τύμβῳ;

HMIXOPION B

ἀλλὰ φοβοῦμαι κἀποτρέπομαι
δεῖμα πολιτῶν.
σύ γε μὴν πολλῶν πενθητηρῶν
τεύξῃ· κεῖνος δ' ὁ τάλας ἄγοος
μονόκλαυτον ἔχων θρῆνον ἀδελφῆς
εἶσιν. τίς ἂν οὖν τὰ πίθοιτο;

HMIXOPION A

δράτω τι πόλις καὶ μὴ δράτω
τοὺς κλαίοντας Πολυνείκη·
ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἴμεν καὶ συνθάψομεν
αἵδε προπομποί. καὶ γὰρ γενεᾷ
<τῇ Καδμογενεῖ>
κοινὸν τόδ' ἄχος, καὶ πόλις ἄλλως
ἄλλοτ' ἐπαινεῖ τὰ δίκαια.

HMIXOPION B

ἡμεὶς δ' ἅμα τῷδ', ὥσπερ τε πόλις

1065 *πίθοιτο* Turnebus: *πείθοιτο* M I *b k*: *πύθοιτο b*.
1066 *τι* Musgrave: om. codd.
1069 <*τῇ* Καδμογενεῖ> add. Ritschl.

Keres, Furies,[158] who have thus annihilated
the family of Oedipus, root and branch!
What can I let happen, what can I do, what plan can I devise?
How can I bring myself neither to bewail you
nor to escort you to a funeral?

SECOND SEMICHORUS [*now grouped, with* ISMENE, *around Eteocles' body*]

I am afraid, and shun conflict
with the fearsome citizenry.
You will find many mourners;
but he, wretched man, will go unlamented
with only the single-voiced dirge of his weeping sister.
Now who could believe that?

FIRST SEMICHORUS

Let the city do or not do what it likes
to those who mourn Polyneices:
we here will go and join
in escorting him to his burial. For the loss is the loss
of all the race ‹of Cadmus›,
and the city approves different things
as right at different times.

SECOND SEMICHORUS

And we will go with this man, as both the city

158 The Keres are usually spirits of death and evil, distinct from the Furies who are spirits of vengeance; however, in Hesiod, *Theogony* 217–22, the Keres are presented as spirits of vengeance, and Aeschylus in *Eumenides* gives his Furies the same pedigree (as children of Night with no father) that Hesiod gives the Keres.

καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ξυνεπαινεῖ·
μετὰ γὰρ μάκαρας καὶ Διὸς ἰσχὺν
ὅδε Καδμείων ἤρυξε πόλιν
μὴ 'νατραπῆναι μηδ' ἀλλοδαπῷ
κύματι φωτῶν
κατακλυσθῆναι τὰ μάλιστα.}

and justice join in approving:
for, next after the blest ones and the strength of Zeus,
he did most to prevent the city of the Cadmeans
being destroyed and overwhelmed
by the human wave of foreigners.

ANTIGONE and the FIRST SEMICHORUS go out in one direction, escorting the body of Polynices; ISMENE and the SECOND SEMICHORUS in the other direction, escorting the body of Eteocles.}

SUPPLIANTS

It has long been universally accepted that *Suppliants* was part of a sequence of plays that also contained *Danaids*, which likewise had the daughters of Danaus as its chorus and which, as fr. 43 showed, presented a later stage of their story, being set on the day after their marriage to their cousins, the sons of Aegyptus, and the murder of all but one of the bridegrooms by their unwilling brides. The other play of the trilogy has almost always been identified as *Egyptians* (despite the fact that only one word of that play survives),[1] since the Danaid story is intimately bound up with Egypt and no other Aeschylean tragedy is known to have had any significant connection with that country;[2] whether it preceded or followed *Suppliants* was, and is, disputed (see below). The satyr-drama that wound up the production, if (as was normal) it dealt with another section of the same myth, had to be *Amymone*, whose title character was one of the Danaids; but until 1952, it was not

[1] Even Hermann, who thought that the other play was *Chamber-makers*, took *Egyptians* to be an alternative name for that same drama. In fact *Chamber-makers* was probably a satyr-play; see the section on it in Volume III.

[2] The only Aeschylean play, outside the Danaid group, that *is* known to have had a significant connection with Egypt is *Proteus*, the satyr-drama of the *Oresteia* production.

known for certain whether *Amymone* was a satyr-drama at all.

Until 1952, also, it was generally taken as all but certain that *Suppliants* was the earliest of Aeschylus' surviving plays and therefore the oldest known European drama: the active role of the chorus, the dominance of song (more than half the text is sung or chanted), the apparent presence of two singing subsidiary choruses (Egyptians in 825–865, Argive soldiers or the Danaids' maidservants in 1034–61), the scant use made of the second actor, and the simplicity and slightness of the plot, all seemed to point in that direction.

In 1952 *Oxyrhynchus Papyrus* 2256 was published. One of its many fragments (fr. 3) comes from a Hypothesis giving information about the result of the City Dionysia tragic competition in a particular year; we cannot identify the year for sure, since all that is left of the date-rubric is ἐπὶ αρ[and the last two letters of that might be the beginning of the archon's name or merely (as apparently in fr. 2 of the same papyrus, a Hypothesis to *Laius*)[3] the beginning of the name of his office (ἄρ[χοντος]). The papyrus then goes on to say that Aeschylus was victorious with a production which included, as its third and fourth plays, *Danaids* and the satyr-drama *Amymone*; Sophocles was second, and one Mesatus was third. Mesatus' name was followed by a series of play-titles, some of which are enclosed in brackets; the likeliest explanation[4] is that the bracketed titles be-

[3] On the problem of how to restore the first line of fr. 2, see S. Scullion, *CQ* 52 (2002) 87 n.24.

[4] First given by J.Th. Kakridis, *Hellenika* 13 (1954) 167–8, and

long to Sophocles (the brackets indicating that they are out of place) and the remainder to Mesatus.

Now unless we resort to some desperate suppositions,[5] this evidence proves that the Danaid tetralogy was written to be performed at a festival at which Sophocles was also competing. Sophocles won his first victory in 468;[6] according to Plutarch[7] this was the first time he had competed, but Eusebius' chronicle, both in Jerome's and in the Armenian version, says he first came before the public in the second year of the 77th Olympiad—which would mean the City Dionysia of 470—and Plutarch, or his source, is under considerable suspicion of having improved the story to make Sophocles' defeat of the established master Aeschylus a more sensational event.[8] We can say, then, that the Danaid plays were almost certainly produced between 470 and 459 inclusive, and probably not in the last few years of this period in view of the absence from the setting of *Suppliants* of any house, cave, etc., which could be represented by a *skēnē*.[9] Were it certain that the letters αρ[in the first line of the papyrus were the beginning of the archon's name, we could date the production more pre-

approved by A. F. Garvie, *Aeschylus' Supplices* (Cambridge, 1969) 7–8.

5 Such as that the Hypothesis refers to a posthumous production, or that the tetralogy was not produced until many years after it was written.

6 *Parian Marble* (*FGrH* 239 A 56); Plutarch, *Cimon* 8.8–9.

7 *Cimon* 8.8.

8 On this see especially S. Scullion, *CQ* 52 (2002) 81–101, at pp. 87–90.

9 The years 468 (when Sophocles was victorious) and 467 (occupied by the Theban tetralogy) are also excluded.

cisely to 463, the only relevant year with an archon whose name (Archedemides) matches these letters; but it is not certain, or even very probable.

The story of the Danaids exists in dozens of variants.[10] Their common core is that a quarrel between the brothers Danaus and Aegyptus, great-grandsons of Zeus and Io of Argos, leads to Danaus and his fifty daughters[11] fleeing from Egypt to Argos, their ancestral home, pursued by Aegyptus[12] and his fifty sons, who desired to take their cousins in marriage regardless of the Danaids' or their father's wishes. The conflict is seemingly resolved when Danaus agrees to the marriages taking place, but he secretly supplies weapons to his daughters, and all but one of them kill their bridegrooms on the wedding night. The

[10] Set out in full by Friis Johansen and Whittle in the introduction to their edition (pp. 40–55); see also Gantz 198–208.

[11] When *Suppliants* was thought to be a very early play, it was often suggested that its chorus actually numbered fifty. There was never any justification for this. If in a Euripidean play of the 420s (coincidentally of the same name) a conventional tragic chorus of fifteen can represent a group who are repeatedly described as the mothers of the *Seven* against Thebes (Euripides, *Suppliants* 12–13, 100–2, etc.) and even as "seven mothers of seven sons" (*ib.* 963–4), it cannot be seriously doubted that several decades earlier it would have been possible for a conventional chorus of (as it then was) twelve to represent a group of fifty.

[12] That Aegyptus came to Argos together with his sons was "the most frequent account" according to Euripides (fr. 846, cf. *Orestes* 872); the scholia on *Orestes* 872 say that Aeschylus' tragic predecessor, Phrynichus, had Aegyptus accompany his sons to Argos, and their silence about Aeschylus himself suggests that Aeschylus did not follow Phrynichus in this respect.

survivor, Lynceus, in many versions seeks and gains revenge upon Danaus; at any rate, he and his wife, Hypermestra, regularly become the founders of a new royal line of Argos and the ancestors of such heroes as Perseus and Heracles. Hypermestra's sisters are in some versions punished (sometimes eternally), in others new husbands are found for them.

Suppliants only covers one small section of this story—the arrival and reception of the Danaids and their father at Argos, and the Argive refusal of a demand for their surrender, resulting in a declaration of war by the herald speaking in the name of the sons of Aegyptus. Its references to earlier events are scanty and vague (we are told far more about Io than we ever are about the past history of Danaus, his brother and their families), and while some things said in *Suppliants* are clearly designed to foreshadow the coming mass-murder,[13] hardly any further information about Aeschylus' treatment of the later part of the story can be safely inferred from the text of the surviving play. As a result of this, and of the survival of only two significant fragments from the companion tragedies, we cannot even say with confidence whether *Suppliants* was the first or the second play of its trilogy.

The third play, as was generally accepted even before the papyrus confirmed it, was *Danaids*. We know two things about this play, apart from the obvious fact that,

[13] For example, the reference to the Danaids' suppliant-boughs as ἐγχειριδίοις (21), literally "things held in the hand" but in ordinary usage "daggers"; or their father's injunction to them to "value . . . chastity more than life itself" (1013), not specifying *whose* life they should value less.

very unusually, the Danaids formed the chorus for the second time in the trilogy. One is that it began on the morning after the fatal weddings: fr. 43, while corrupt, clearly refers to the rising of the sun and to the ceremonial, musical "awakening" of the bridal couples. The other is that, doubtless later in the play, Aphrodite appeared and made a speech which contained an eloquent affirmation of the universality of mutual sexual desire in nature with particular reference to the primal union of Heaven and Earth (fr. 44)—clearly with a view to vindicating Hypermestra, or to condemning Danaus,[14] or both, but certainly also to condemning the sons of Aegyptus who, in the surviving play, are represented—by their own herald as much as by their enemies—as unilaterally demanding the satisfaction of their own desires regardless of anyone else's.[15] It would be highly fitting if this were followed up by the marriage of the Danaids other than Hypermestra to new husbands with whom they *could* form a union as true as that of Heaven and Earth; and it is likely too that before the end

[14] It is fairly clear that in Aeschylus' treatment, Danaus was presented as the inspirer of his daughters' actions; they themselves call him "the originator of our plan, the leader of our band, [who,] surveying the situation like a gameboard, ordained [that we should] flee headlong over the waves of the sea" (11–14).

[15] "You may take these women," says King Pelasgus to the herald, "so long as they consent with friendly heart, if pious words of yours should persuade them" (940–1); and the herald regards this insistence on consent as a *casus belli* (950)!

of this play Danaus had met his death.[16] The rest is speculation.[17]

What of *Egyptians*? It has usually been supposed that this was the second play of the trilogy, in which case its subject must have been the events leading from the conclusion of the Argive-Egyptian war (in which, it is generally accepted, King Pelasgus must have been killed, with Danaus perhaps taking over as a quasi-tyrant)[18] to the arrangement and celebration of the marriages between Danaus' daughters and Aegyptus' sons. There are, however, serious difficulties with this view, which I have set out elsewhere:[19]

> The title . . . implie[s] a chorus of Egyptians . . . . In that case it [is] at first sight hard to see how Danaos and his daughters could have contrived their murder-plot. Various possibilities, indeed, [exist]: per-

[16] In the scholium on *Suppliants* 37, διὰ τὸ μὴ θανατωθῆναι τὸν πατέρα "because their father has not (sc. at this time) been put to death" (on the meaning of the phrase see A. F. Garvie, *Aeschylus' Supplices*[2] [Exeter, 2005] xviii-xix), the use of θανατωθῆναι rather than e.g. τεθνηκέναι strongly suggests the writer knew that Danaus was in fact put to death later in the trilogy.

[17] On the possible reconstruction of *Danaids*, see further my discussions in B. Zimmermann ed. *Griechisch-römische Komödie und Tragödie* (Stuttgart, 1995) 123–130, and in *Aeschylean Tragedy* 147–151.

[18] His acquisition of a personal bodyguard towards the end of *Suppliants* (985–8) may reasonably be taken as foreshadowing this.

[19] In B. Zimmermann ed. *Griechisch-römische Komödie und Tragödie* (Stuttgart, 1995) 112.

> haps the play, like Aristophanes' *Frogs*, was named after a secondary chorus, the Danaids being the main chorus; perhaps the plot was so familiar a part of the story that the dramatist took the audience's knowledge of it for granted, and exploited it to ironic effect in scenes of negotiation between Danaos and his enemies. But [neither] of these expedients seem[s] fully satisfactory.

The alternative view, supported by several nineteenth-century scholars but revived in recent times by Wolfgang Rösler and myself,[20] is that *Egyptians* was the *first* play of the trilogy, was set in Egypt (with a chorus of male Egyptians, perhaps elders), and presented the quarrel between Danaus and Aegyptus. This view has won relatively little support, perhaps because both Rösler and I put the main stress in our arguments on a six-word scholium on *Suppliants* 37 which we took, following Martin Sicherl,[21] as evidence that Aeschylus imagined Danaus to have received an oracle that he would be killed by his daughter's bedfellow (so that he was determined at all costs to keep his daughters permanently virgin), but which A. F. Garvie[22] has shown that we misinterpreted. This does not, however, in itself disprove the hypothesis that *Egyptians* was the first play of the trilogy, which does not depend solely on this piece of evidence; nor does it prove that Aeschylus did not use the oracle story, since, again, there is other

[20] Respectively in *RhM* 136 (1993) 1–22 and in B. Zimmermann ed. *Griechisch-römische Komödie und Tragödie* (Stuttgart, 1995) 111–123 (also *Aeschylean Tragedy* 143–7).

[21] *MH* 43 (1986) 81–110.

[22] *Aeschylus' Supplices*[2] (Exeter, 2005) xviii-xix.

evidence suggesting that he did. In *Suppliants* 1006–9 Danaus appears to be saying that the whole object of the flight from Egypt had been to preserve his daughters' virginity not just from their cousins but absolutely—an idea that to any Greek would be utterly incomprehensible except in the light of the oracle story or something very like it.[23] And since the oracle is nowhere mentioned in *Suppliants*, the surviving play, as Rösler insisted, cannot have stood first in the trilogy. We cannot argue against this that the oracle was so regular and familiar a part of the myth that the audience's knowledge of it could be taken for granted, for we know that in one quite recent poetic version of the myth Danaus actually survived to arrange the remarriage of his daughters.[24] I thus remain of the view

[23] It was considered a great wrong against a woman if her father or guardian deliberately kept her unmarried; this is regularly mentioned as one of the grievances of Electra against Aegisthus (and Clytaemestra), and when Lysias is describing the crimes of the Thirty who ruled Athens in 404–403, he climaxes his indictment not with their execution of hundreds of citizens without trial, but with a claim that they prevented many men's daughters from being married (Lysias 12.21). Other than Danaus and Aegisthus, the only major mythical character who acts similarly is Acrisius, who walls up his daughter Danaë because an oracle has told him he will be killed by his grandson (the story appears first in Aeschylus' contemporary Pherecydes [*FGrH* 3 F 10]).

[24] Pindar, *Pythian* 9.112–6 (performed in 474). Pindar may well be alluding to a version of the myth in which Danaus and Lynceus were reconciled, as in [Apollodorus], *Library* 2.1.5 (which repeats Pindar's story of the selection of the new bridegrooms by means of a foot-race).

that the sequence of the trilogy was *Egyptians, Suppliants, Danaids*;[25] but the issue cannot be regarded as settled.

On the satyr-drama, *Amymone*, see the section on that play in Volume III.

Many attempts have been made to find contemporary political relevance in the Danaid trilogy, but in view of our uncertainty as to its precise date none of them can be regarded as compelling.[26] It is, however, worth recording that *Suppliants* contains the earliest evidence for the existence of the word δημοκρατία "democracy": the word it-

[25] P. Sandin, *Aeschylus' Supplices: Introduction and Commentary on vv.1–523* (Göteborg, 2003) 9–11, argues that this sequence would entail that "the entire dramatic conflict that leads to . . . the wedding-night murder would be [merely] recounted in a prologue"; some might feel, contrariwise, that a play standing between *Suppliants* and *Danaids*, and leading up to (but not including) the murders, would be singularly lacking in "dramatic conflict", since the only action it would need to contain, once Pelasgus was removed from the scene, would be for Danaus to make peace proposals to his nephews that included acceptance of their marriage to his daughters, to have them accepted, and somehow to plot with his daughters the murder of their bridegrooms. There would be nothing surprising in important events of a myth being consigned, as it were, to the gap between two plays of an Aeschylean trilogy: the trilogy based on the *Odyssey* seems to have jumped straight from Odysseus' visit to the underworld (in *Ghost-Raisers, q.v.*) to his first meeting with Penelope (in *Penelope, q.v.*), omitting events that take up at least nine books of the *Odyssey* (12, 5–8 and 13–16).

[26] This applies as much to my own attempt (*Aeschylean Tragedy* 403–9; also in C. B. R. Pelling ed. *Greek Tragedy and the Historian* [Oxford, 1997] 74–79) as to any other.

self does not appear in the play, but thinly disguised equivalents are found in two passages.[27]

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[27] *Suppliants* 604 (δήμου κρατοῦσα χείρ) and 699 (τὸ δάμιον, τὸ πτόλιν κρατύνει); see V. Ehrenberg, *Historia* 1 (1950) 522.

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ΙΚΕΤΙΔΕΣ

ΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ

ΧΟΡΟΣ ΔΑΝΑΙΔΩΝ
ΔΑΝΑΟΣ
ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ
ΧΟΡΟΣ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΩΝ
ΚΗΡΥΞ
ΧΟΡΟΣ ΑΡΓΕΙΩΝ

ΧΟΡΟΣ

Ζεὺς μὲν ἀφίκτωρ ἐπίδοι προφρόνως
στόλον ἡμέτερον νάιον ἀρθέντ'
ἀπὸ προστομίων λεπτοψαμάθων
Νείλου· Δίαν δὲ λιποῦσαι

2 ἀρθέντ' Turnebus: ἀρόεντ'(α) M.
3 λεπτοψαμάθων Pauw: λεπτομαθῶν M.

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[1] Egypt could be so called because it contained the famous oracle of Zeus Ammon at Siwa; but to the Danaids it is more important that Egypt was the place where Zeus miraculously begot their ancestor Epaphus.

SUPPLIANTS

CHARACTERS OF THE PLAY

CHORUS *of the daughters of Danaus*
DANAUS, *the fugitive ex-king of Egypt*
PELASGUS, *king of Argos*
SECONDARY CHORUS OF EGYPTIANS
EGYPTIAN HERALD
SECONDARY CHORUS OF ARGIVE SOLDIERS

Produced between 470 and 459 BC as first or second play in a tetralogy which also included *Egyptians, Danaids* and the satyr-play *Amymone.*

Scene: The sea-coast near Argos. A mound represents a shrine (with altars) to the major gods of the city. One side-passage is imagined as leading to the city, the other to the sea.

Enter CHORUS, *from the seaward direction. They are followed by* DANAUS *who goes to the shrine and keeps a look-out towards the city.*

CHORUS

May Zeus, god of suppliants, look graciously upon
our band, which set forth by ship
from the fine sands at the mouth
of the Nile. We have left the land of Zeus,[1]

χθόνα σύγχορτον Συρίᾳ φεύγομεν,
οὔτιν᾽ ἐφ᾽ αἵματι δημηλασίαν
ψήφῳ πόλεως γνωσθεῖσαι,
ἀλλ᾽ αὐτογενῆ φυξανορίαν,
γάμον Αἰγύπτου παίδων ἀσεβῆ τ᾽
ὀνοταζόμεναι <διάνοιαν>.
Δαναὸς δὲ πατὴρ καὶ βούλαρχος
καὶ στασίαρχος τάδε πεσσονομῶν
κύδιστ᾽ ἀχέων ἐπέκρανεν,
φεύγειν ἀνέδην διὰ κῦμ᾽ ἅλιον,
κέλσαι δ᾽ Ἄργους γαῖαν, ὅθεν δὴ
γένος ἡμέτερον, τῆς οἰστροδόνου
βοὸς ἐξ ἐπαφῆς κἀξ ἐπιπνοίας
Διὸς εὐχόμενον, τετέλεσται.
τίν᾽ ἂν οὖν χώραν εὔφρονα μᾶλλον
τῆσδ᾽ ἀφικοίμεθα
σὺν τοῖσδ᾽ ἱκετῶν ἐγχειριδίοις,
ἐριοστέπτοισι κλάδοισιν;
< >
ὦν πόλις, ὦν γῆ καὶ λευκὸν ὕδωρ,

6 δημηλασίαν Auratus: δημηλασίᾳ M.
8 αὐτογενῆ Turnebus, φυξανορίαν H. L. Ahrens: αὐτογένητον φυ[..]ξανορὰν (φυξάνοραν γρM, φυλαξάνοραν Ms) M.
10 <διάνοιαν> suppl. Weil. 14 κῦμ᾽ ἅλιον *t*: κυμβαλέον M. 15 κέλσαι Sophianus: κεασαι M.
16 οἰστροδόνου Turnebus: οἰστροδόμου M.
22 ἐριο- anon.: ἱερο- M.
22/23 lacuna posited by West, who proposes e.g. <ἀλλ᾽, ὦ πάτριοι δαίμονες Ἄργους>.

which borders on Syria, as fugitives,
not through public banishment for bloodshed
after condemnation by state decree,
but of our own accord, in flight from men,
abhorring marriage with the sons of Aegyptus
and their impious ‹thoughts›.
Danaus, our father, the originator of our plan,
the leader of our band,[2] surveying the situation like a
gameboard,[3]
ordained this as the most honourable of painful options,
to flee headlong over the waves of the sea
and put in to the land of Argos, from whence
originates our race, which claims to derive
from the touch and breath of Zeus
on the gadfly-driven heifer.[4]
So to what more friendly land
than this could we come
with these hand-held emblems[5] of the suppliant,
these wool-wreathed olive branches?
‹O ancestral gods of Argos›
to whom belong the city, the land and its clear waters—

2 στασίαρχος is also capable of meaning "originator of civil strife"—which Danaus may have been in Egypt and may later prove to be in Argos (see Introduction).

3 The game is one of those that went under the generic name πεσσοί, games of mixed skill and chance based on the moving of pieces on a board according to the fall of dice.

4 Io.

5 ἐγχειρίδια, literally "things held in the hand", more usually means "daggers"—which the Danaids will be using later in the trilogy (cf. [Apollodorus], *Library* 2.1.5).

ὕπατοί τε θεοὶ καὶ βαθυτίμους
χθόνιοι θήκας κατέχοντες
καὶ Ζεὺς σωτὴρ τρίτος, οἰκοφύλαξ
ὁσίων ἀνδρῶν, δέξασθ' ἱκέτην
τὸν θηλυγενῆ στόλον αἰδοίῳ
πνεύματι χώρας· ἀρσενοπληθῆ δ'
ἑσμὸν ὑβριστὴν Αἰγυπτογενῆ,
πρὶν πόδα χέρσῳ τῇδ' ἐν ἀσώδει
θεῖναι, ξὺν ὄχῳ ταχυήρει
πέμψατε πόντονδ'· ἔνθα δὲ λαίλαπι
χειμωνοτύπῳ βροντῇ στεροπῇ τ'
ὀμβροφόροισίν τ' ἀνέμοις ἀγρίας
ἁλὸς ἀντήσαντες ὄλοιντο,
πρίν ποτε λέκτρων ὧν θέμις εἴργει,
σφετεριξάμενοι πατραδελφείαν
τήνδ' ἀεκόντων, ἐπιβῆναι.

στρ. α νῦν δ' ἐπικεκλομένα
Δῖον πόρτιν, ὑπερ-
πόντιον τιμάορ', ἶνιν

24 *βαθυτίμους* Musgrave: *βαρύτιμοι* M.
28 *δέξασθ'* Heath: *δέξαιθ'* M.
38 *σφετεριξάμενοι* Portus, *πατραδελφείαν* Pauw: *-ξάμενον -φίαν* M.
40 *ἐπικεκλομένα* Turnebus: *-όμεναι* M.
42 *ἶνιν* Hermann: *ἶνιν τ'* M.

both the gods above, and the chthonic gods
inhabiting their highly-honoured abodes,
and thirdly Zeus the Saviour,[6] protector of the houses
of pious men—receive as suppliants
this female band, and may the country show them
a spirit of respect. As for the numerous,
wanton male swarm of the sons of Aegyptus,
before they set foot on this marshy
shore, send them to the open sea,
them and their swift-oared vessel; and there may they
meet
the battering of storm and squall, thunder and lightning,
and the rain-bearing winds
of the savage sea, and perish,
before ever mounting the beds from which Right bars
them,
appropriating us, who belong to their father's brother,
against our wills!

Now let me invoke[7]
the calf of Zeus, the vindicator[8]
from beyond the sea, the child

[6] The third libation after a meal was poured to Zeus the Saviour (the first going to the Olympian gods, the second to the heroes: scholia to Plato, *Republic* 583b, cf. Aesch. fr. 55), and Aeschylus is fond of linking Zeus the Saviour with the number three (e.g. *Ag.* 245–7, 1386–7, *Cho.* 1075–6, *Eum.* 759–760).

[7] lit. "Now invoking . . ."; the sentence that begins with this participial phrase never reaches its main verb, and is abandoned at 45. [8] In the sense that Argive recognition that Epaphus was the Danaids' ancestor will compel them to respect the Danaids' claim to Argive aid.

ἀνθονομούσας προγόνου βοὸς ἐξ ἐπιπνοίας,
Ζηνὸς ἔφαψιν· ἐπωνυμίαν δ' ἐπεκραίνετο μόρσιμος αἰὼν
εὐλόγως, Ἔπαφον δ' ἐγέννασεν·

ἀντ. α ὅντ' ἐπιλεξαμένα
νῦν ἐν ποιονόμοις
ματρὸς ἀρχαίας τόποις, τῶν
πρόσθε πόνων μνασαμένα τά τε νῦν ἐπιδείξω
πιστὰ τεκμήρια, γαιονόμοισι δ' ἄελπτά περ ὄντα φανεῖται·
γνώσεται δὲ λόγου τις ἐν μάκει.

στρ. β εἰ δὲ κυρεῖ τις πέλας οἰωνοπόλων
ἔγγαιος οἶκτον ἀίων,
δοξάσει τιν' ἀκούειν ὄπα τᾶς Τηρεΐας
μήτιδας οἰκτρᾶς ἀλόχου,
κιρκηλάτου γ' ἀηδόνος,

43 *ἀνθομονούσας* Porson: *ἀνθονόμουσταϲ* M^{ac}: *ἀνθονόμου τᾶϲ* M^{pc}. 44 *ἐπιπνοίας* Robortello: *ἐπιπνοίαις* M.
45 *ἐπωνυμίαν* Auratus: *ἐπωνυμίᾳ* M.
54 *γαιονόμοισι δ'* Hermann: *τά τ' ἀνόμοια οἶδ'* M (*τά τ'* in an erasure). 59 *οἶκτον* Bothe: *οἶκτον οἰκτρὸν* M.
60 *τιν'* Auratus: *τις* M. 60 *ἀκούειν* Portus: *ἀκούων* M.
61 *μήτιδας* Pauw: *μήτιδος* M. 62 *γ'* anon.: *τ'* M.
62 *ἀηδόνος* Turnebus: *ἀηδονῆς* M: *Ἀηδόνας* Wilamowitz.

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9 *ἔφαψις*, whence the child's name *Ἔπαφος*.

10 If the text here is rightly restored and understood, it implies that at the time of Epaphus' conception Zeus told Io (as Gabriel

of our ancestress the flower-browsing cow, conceived by
a breath,
the fruit of Zeus' touch[9]—and the destined time
appropriately fulfilled
the name derived from that touch,[10] and she gave birth
to Epaphus;

and now, by making mention of him
here in the ancient grazing-grounds
of his mother, and recalling
her long-past sufferings, I shall now produce
reliable proof, which, unexpected as it is, the land's
inhabitants will find clear;
it will be recognized, once explained at length.

If there happens to be any native nearby
skilled in augury who hears my lament,
he will think he is hearing a voice like that
of Tereus' wife, whose cunning schemes brought her
misery,[11]
the nightingale whom the hawk pursues,

told Mary) that she would bear a child and what name he should be given. [11] The wife of Tereus (with or without the aid of her sister) killed their only child, Itys. In early versions of the story the killing may have been accidental (as in the parallel story of *Odyssey* 19.518–523, Pherecydes *FGrH* 3 F 124, where the husband is Zethus); in Sophocles' later *Tereus* it is a deliberate act of revenge for Tereus' rape of his wife's sister; in our passage it could be either. Both husband and wife were transformed into birds, the latter into a nightingale (who continues eternally to lament for Itys), the former into a hawk (in Sophocles a hoopoe). The wife's name in archaic art, and in Pherecydes *loc.cit.*, is Aëdon or Aëdona ("Nightingale"); in Sophocles and thereafter it is Procne.

ἀντ. β ἄτ᾽ ἀπὸ χλωρῶν ποταμῶν εἰργόμενα
πενθεῖ μὲν οἶκτον ἠθέων,
ξυντίθησι δὲ παιδὸς μόρον, ὡς αὐτοφόνως
ὤλετο πρὸς χειρὸς ἔθεν
δυσμάτορος κότου τυχών.

στρ. γ τὼς καὶ ἐγὼ φιλόδυρτος Ἰαονίοισι νόμοισι
δάπτω τὰν ἀπαλὰν εἰλοθερῆ παρειὰν
ἀπειρόδακρύν τε καρδίαν·
γοεδνὰ δ᾽ ἀνθεμίζομαι
δειμαίνουσ᾽, ἀφίλου τᾶσδε φυγᾶς
Ἀερίας ἀπὸ γᾶς
εἴ τίς ἐστι κηδεμών.

ἀντ. γ ἀλλὰ θεοὶ γενέται κλύετ᾽ εὖ τὸ δίκαιον ἰδόντες·
ἦβαν μὴ τέλεον δόντες ἔχειν παρ᾽ αἶσαν,
ὕβριν δ᾽ ἐτύμως στυγόντες,
πέλοιτ᾽ ἂν †ἔνδικοι γάμοις†.

63 ἄτ᾽ ἀπὸ Victorius: ἄταπο M^{ac}: ἄτοπο M^{pc}
63 χλωρῶν ποταμῶν Scheer: χώρων ποταμῶν τ᾽ M.
64 μὲν Haecker: νέον M.
66 ἔθεν Porson: ἔο ἐν M.
68 φιλόδυρτος Heath: φιλοδύρτοις M.
71 εἰλοθερῆ Musgrave: Νειλοθερῆ M.
74 δειμαίνουσ᾽ ἀφίλου Musgrave: -ουσα φίλουσ M^{s}: -ουσα φόλουσ M. 77 θεοὶ Pauw: θεοὶ οἱ M. 79 ἦβαν iΣ: ἦβαι M. 81 ἐτύμως (ἑτύμως) *m*: ἑτοίμως M.
82 ἔνδικοι γάμοις M: ἔνδικοι γένει Menzel: ἐνδικώτατοι Griffith.

who, shut off from her green river-banks,
utters a grieving lament for her familiar haunts
and sings the story of[12] her son's death, how he perished
by her own kindred hand,
experiencing her unmotherly anger.[13]

So I too, fond of lamenting in Ionian strains,[14]
rend my soft, sun-baked cheek
and my heart unused to tears;
I cull the flowers of grief,
in apprehension whether these friendless exiles
from the Land of Mists[15]
have any protector here.

O ancestral gods, hear us with favour, and see where
justice lies:
by not giving our youth to be possessed in marriage
against what is proper,
by showing you truly hate outrageous behaviour,
you will act justly < >.

12 lit. "composes".

13 If Aëdon/Procne is here assumed to have killed her son deliberately, the object of her anger will have been Tereus; if accidentally, the scenario presupposed is probably that of Pherecydes *loc.cit.* and the mother's (jealous) anger will have been directed against her prolific sister-in-law Niobe (she killed Itys by mistake for one of Niobe's sons).

14 For the association of the Ionian musical mode with laments cf. scholia to *Pers.* 938 (citing *PMG* 878).

15 A name for Egypt (Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica* 4.267), said to refer to the mist that often concealed its low-lying coastline from the approaching seafarer.

ἔστι δὲ κἀκ πολέμου τειρομένοις
βωμὸς ἀρῆς φυγάσιν
ῥῦμα, δαιμόνων σέβας.

στρ. δ εἴθ' εἴη 'κ Διὸς εὖ παναληθῶς·
Διὸς ἴμερος οὐκ εὐθήρατος ἐτύχθη·
δαῦλοι γὰρ πραπίδων
δάσκιοί τε τείνου-
σιν πόροι κατιδεῖν ἄφραστοι.

ἀντ. δ πίπτει δ' ἀσφαλὲς οὐδ' ἐπὶ νώτῳ,
κορυφᾷ Διὸς εἰ κρανθῇ πρᾶγμα τέλειον.
πάντᾳ τοι φλεγέθει
κἀν σκότῳ μελαίνᾳ
ξὺν τύχᾳ μερόπεσσι λαοῖς.

στρ. ε ἰάπτει δ' ἐλπίδων
ἀφ' ὑψιπύργων πανώλεις βροτούς,
βίαν δ' οὔτιν' ἐξοπλίζει.
πᾶν ἄπονον δαιμονίων·
ἥμενος ὃν φρόνημά πως

86 εἴθ' εἴη Scaliger, 'κ Διὸς Heath: εἰ θείη Διὸς M: εἰ (= εἴθε) θείη θεὸς Garzya. 88–90 and 93–95 transposed thus by Westphal.

96 δ' ἐλπίδων Musgrave: δὲ ἀπϊδων M.

100 πᾶν Labbaeus, ἄπονον Pauw: τὰν ἄποινον M.

101 ἥμενος Paley, ὃν Haupt (cf. Σ τὸ . . . φρόνημα αὐτοῦ): ἥμενον ἄνω M.

Even for distressed fugitives from war
an altar is a defence against harm
that gods respect.[16]

May Zeus make all be well in very truth!
The desire of Zeus is not easy to hunt out:
the paths of his mind
stretch tangled and shadowy,
impossible to perceive or see clearly.

It falls safe, not on its back,[17]
when an action is definitively ordained by the nod[18] of
Zeus.
It blazes everywhere,
even in darkness, with black fortune
for mortal folk.

He casts humans down
from lofty, towering hopes to utter destruction,
without deploying any armed force.
Everything gods do is done without toil:
he sits still, and nevertheless somehow

[16] Fugitives from war, whose enemies are only trying to assert the accepted rights of the victor, are safe from seizure if they take sanctuary at an altar: how much more should the Danaids be protected, since their enemies are trying to claim that to which (according to the Danaids) they have no right whatsoever!

[17] Friis Johansen and Whittle plausibly take the metaphor to refer to a leopard (or feline predator of similar habits) springing from a tree and landing on its feet—appropriate here, where the stress is on Zeus's power to punish and destroy.

[18] lit. "head".

αὐτόθεν ἐξέπραξεν ἔμ-
πας ἑδράνων ἀφ' ἁγνῶν.

ἀντ. ε ἰδέσθω δ' εἰς ὕβριν
βρότειον, οἷος νεάζει πυθμὴν
δι' ἁμὸν γάμον τεθαλὼς
δυσπαραβούλοισι φρεσὶν
καὶ διάνοιαν μαινόλιν
κέντρον ἔχων ἄφυκτον, †ἅ-
τᾳ δ' ἀπάτᾳ† μεταγνούς.

στρ. ζ τοιαῦτα πάθεα μέλεα θρεομένα λέγω,
λιγέα βαρέα δακρυοπετῆ,
ἰὴ ἰή, ἰηλέμοισιν ἐμπρεπῆ·
ζῶσα γόοις με τιμῶ.
ἱλεῶμαι μὲν Ἀπίαν βοῦνιν—
καρβâνα δ' αὐδὰν εὖ, γâ, κοννεῖς—

103 ἀφ' anon.: ἐφ' M. 105 οἷος Whittle: οἷα M: οἵᾳ Schütz. 107 τεθαλὼς Bothe (after Musgrave), cf. Σ: τὸ θάλωσ Mac: τὸ θάλοσ Mpc. 110–1 ἄτα[.] δ' ἀπάτα[.] M: ἄται δ' ἀπάται Ms: ἄταν (m) δ' ἀγαπᾶν West.
112 λέγω Canter: λέγων M.
115 after ἐμπρέπη (sic) M adds θρεομένη μέλη: del. Porson.

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19 Cf. Xenophanes fr. 25, 26 D-K: "[God] moves everything by mental will, without toil. . . . He always remains in one place, without moving at all."

20 i.e. the sons of Aegyptus.

21 West's conjecture, which I render here, is based on the par-

carries out his will directly
from his holy abode.[19]

Let him look on this human
act of outrage, on the kind of youthful stock that is
sprouting:[20]
the prospect of marriage with me makes it bloom
with determination hard to dissuade;
it has frenzied thoughts
that goad it on implacably,
having had its mind transformed <to love a ruinous
delusion>.[21]

Such are the sad sufferings that I speak and cry of,
grievous, keening, tear-falling sufferings—
ié, ié!—made conspicuous by loud laments:
I honour myself with dirges while I still live.
I appeal for the favour of the hilly land of Apia[22]—
you understand well, O land, my barbaric speech[23]—

allel of *Ag.* 218–223, where Agamemnon is said to have had his mind transformed (*μετέγνω*, cf. *μεταγνούν* here) by an insane determination to sacrifice Iphigenia.

22 A name for Argos (cf. *Ag.* 256–7), explained in 260–270 below; by its similarity to Ἄπις, the Egyptian bull-god sometimes identified with Epaphus (cf. Herodotus 2.153), it suggests a link between Argos and Egypt, just as *βοῦ-νιν* "hilly land" suggests a link with the bovine Io.

23 Although, in accordance with the conventions of tragedy, the words that actually come out of the Danaids' mouths are Greek, we are expected to imagine that they are speaking Egyptian (just as e.g. we are expected to imagine that the performers' linen masks are human faces).

120 πολλάκι δ' ἐμπίτνω ξὺν λακίδι λινοσινεῖ
Σιδονίᾳ καλύπτρᾳ.

ἀντ. ζ θεοῖς δ' ἐνάγεα τέλεα πελομένων καλῶς
ἐπίδρομ', ὁπόθι θάνατος ἀπῇ.
125 ἰὼ ἰώ, ἰὼ δυσάγκριτοι πόνοι·
ποῖ τόδε κῦμ' ἀπάξει;
ἱλεῶμαι μὲν Ἀπίαν βοῦνιν—
130 καρβᾶνα δ' αὐδὰν εὖ, γᾶ, κοννεῖς—
πολλάκι δ' ἐμπίτνω ξὺν λακίδι λινοσινεῖ
Σιδονίᾳ καλύπτρᾳ.

στρ. η πλάτα μὲν οὖν λινορραφὴς
135 τε δόμος ἅλα στέγων δορὸς
ἀχείματόν μ' ἔπεμπε σὺν
πνοαῖς, οὐδὲ μέμφομαι·
τελευτὰς δ' ἐν χρόνῳ
πατὴρ ὁ παντόπτας
140 πρευμενεῖς κτίσειεν·

119, 130 εὖ, γᾶ Boissonade, κοννεῖς Burges: cf. Σ ὦ γῆ, νοεῖς: εὐακοννεῖς (119), εὐγακόννις (130) M.

121, 132 λινοσινεῖ Bücheler: λινοισινῆι (121), αἴνοισινῆ (132) M. 124 ἀπῇ Σ: ὅπῃ M.

136–7 σὺν πνοαῖς Porson: συμπνοιαῖς M.

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[24] i.e. Phoenician; perhaps suggesting "richly coloured", cf. *Iliad* 6.289–290.

[25] A gesture of mourning or grief, cf. *Cho.* 27–28.

[26] In appropriate contexts τέλος often refers specifically to

and I repeatedly fall upon my Sidonian[24] veil,
tearing its linen to rags.[25]

But unclean rites,[26] even when things are going well, are
vulnerable
to divine intervention—so long as death keeps away.[27]
Ió, ió, ió, troubles hard to gauge!
Where will these waves carry us?
I appeal for the favour of the hilly land of Apia—
you understand well, O land, my barbaric speech—
and I repeatedly fall upon my Sidonian veil,
tearing its linen to rags.

The oar-blade and the flax-sewn house
of wood[28] that keeps out the sea
have brought me here without storms
and with good winds, and I have no complaint;
now may the all-seeing Father
in time bring about
a propitious end,

marriage or its consummation (e.g. *Eum.* 835; Sophocles, *Antigone* 1240–1; cf. προτέλεια "pre-nuptial sacrifices").

[27] i.e. our self-mourning (116) is premature: if we do not abandon life, there is hope that the gods may save us from the fate we fear.

[28] A poetic kenning for "ship"; "flax-sewn" apparently refers to the stitching together of hull timbers, a common practice in south-west Asia and thought by later writers (Pliny, *Natural History* 19.25, 24.65; A. Gellius, *Attic Nights* 17.3.4; scholia to *Odyssey* 14.383) to have been referred to in certain Homeric passages (*Iliad* 2.135, *Odyssey* 14.383). See J. S. Morrison and R. T. Williams, *Greek Oared Ships 900–322* BC (Cambridge, 1968) 50.

σπέρμα σεμνᾶς μέγα ματρὸς εὐνὰς
ἀνδρῶν, ἓ ἔ,
ἄγαμον ἀδάματον ἐκφυγεῖν.

ἀντ. η θέλουσα δ' αὖ θέλουσαν ἀγ-
νά μ' ἐπιδέτω Διὸς κόρα,
ἔχουσα σέμν' ἐνώπι' ἀ-
σφαλῆ, παντὶ δὲ σθένει
διωγμοῖς ἀσχαλῶσ'
ἀδμῆτος ἀδμήτα
ῥύσιος γενέσθω·
σπέρμα σεμνᾶς μέγα ματρὸς εὐνὰς
ἀνδρῶν, ἓ ἔ,
ἄγαμον ἀδάματον ἐκφυγεῖν.

στρ. θ εἰ δὲ μή, μελανθὲς
ἡλιόκτυπον γένος
τὸν γάιον, τὸν πολυξενώτατον
Ζῆνα τῶν κεκμηκότων
ἰξόμεσθα σὺν κλάδοις

143, 153 ἀδάματον Bothe: ἀδάμαντον M.
147 ἀσφαλῆ Sidgwick: ἀσφαλές M.
147 σθένει Canter: σθενοσ M: σθενουσι M^{s}.
148 διωγμοῖς ἀσχαλῶσ' Hermann: διωγμοῖσι δ' ἀσφαλέασ M. 149 ἀδμῆτος Pauw: ἀδμήτας M.
154 δὲ Σ: δὴ M.
155 ἡλιό- Wellauer: ἡδιό- M.
156 γάιον Wellauer, cf. Σ καταχθόνιον: ταιον M: ἀγραῖον *t*: Ζαγρέα Blomfield, cf. Aesch. fr. 5.

so that the offspring of a most august mother[29]
may escape the beds of men—ah, ah!—
unwedded and unsubdued.

May the chaste daughter of Zeus[30]
likewise watch over me, with a willingness matching
mine,[31]
she who dwells behind august, secure
temple façades:[32] with all her might,
aggrieved by the pursuit,
let her, the Untamed One,
become the rescuer of us the untamed ones,[33]
so that the offspring of a most august mother
may escape the beds of men—ah, ah!—
unwedded and unsubdued.

And if not, this dark-skinned,
sun-beaten race
will supplicate the underworld Zeus,
the ever-hospitable Zeus of the departed,[34]
in death, with nooses

[29] Io.

[30] Artemis.

[31] Artemis' willingness to protect the Danaids will match their willingness to have her do so.

[32] The point is: Artemis' virginity is safe from all attack; ours is not; therefore let her protect us!

[33] The virgin female was often imaged as a wild animal, and marriage as taming, breaking-in, or yoking.

[34] Hades-Pluto; cf. 230–1, *Ag.* 1386–7, *Iliad* 9.457.

ἀρτάναις θανοῦσαι,
μὴ τυχοῦσαι θεῶν Ὀλυμπίων.

μεσῳδ. ἆ Ζήν· Ἰοῦς—ἰώ—μῆνις
μάστειρ' ἐκ θεῶν· κοννῶ δ' ἄγαν
γαμετᾶς Διὸς οὐρανονίκου.
χαλεποῦ γὰρ ἐκ πνεύματος εἶσι χειμών.

ἀντ. θ καὶ τότ' οὐ δικαίοις
Ζεὺς ἐνέξεται ψόγοις,
τὸν τᾶς βοὸς παῖδ' ἀτιμιάσας, τὸν αὐ-
τός ποτ' ἔκτισεν γόνῳ,
νῦν ἔχων παλίντροπον
ὄψιν ἐν λιταῖσιν;
ὑψόθεν δ' εὖ κλύοι καλούμενος.

ΔΑΝΑΟΣ

παῖδες, φρονεῖν χρή· ξὺν φρονοῦντι δ' ἥκετε
πιστῷ γέροντι τῷδε ναυκλήρῳ πατρί·
καὶ τἀπὶ χέρσου νῦν προμηθίαν λαβὼν
αἰνῶ φυλάξαι τἄμ' ἔπη δελτουμένας.
ὁρῶ κόνιν, ἄναυδον ἄγγελον στρατοῦ·

162 ἆ Ζῆν Salvini, Ἰοῦς ἰώ Robortello (cf. Σ κατὰ Ἰοῦς): ἀζηνιουσιω M.

164 κοννῶ δ' Turnebus, ἄγαν Bamberger: κοννωδάταν M.

165 γαμετᾶς Turnebus, Διὸς add. Hermann, -νίκου anon. (after Turnebus): γαμετουρανόνεικον M.

169 ἐνεξεται Porson: ἐνεύξεται M.

instead of olive-branches,
if we have not secured the aid of the Olympian gods.
Ah, Zeus! Ió, the divine wrath[35]
that hunted Io! I know the jealousy
of the wife of heaven-conquering Zeus:
after a stiff wind a storm will come.[36]

And then will not Zeus be liable
to merited censure
for dishonouring the child of the cow, whom
he himself once begot and caused to be,
by now turning his face away
when we pray to him?
May he hear us with favour from on high when we call!

DANAUS

Children, you must show good sense. This trusty old man, your father, with whom you have reached this place, has been a sensible shipmaster; now I have likewise taken thought regarding the situation on land, and I advise you to record my words on the tablets of your mind and keep them safe. I can see a dust-cloud, the voiceless harbinger

[35] Of Hera.

[36] The Danaids fear that Hera may yet vent her hatred of Io on Io's descendants. In the end this may have happened in an unexpected way (note the linking of Hera with Aphrodite in 1034–5).

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169 *ψόγοις* Headlam: *λόγοις* M.
after 175 Canter inserted a repetition of 162–7.
176 *ἥκετε* Porson: *ἵκετε* M.
178 *λαβὼν* Wordsworth: *λαβεῖν* M.

σύριγγες οὐ σιγῶσιν ἀξονήλατοι·
ὄχλον δ' ὑπασπιστῆρα καὶ δορυσσόον
λεύσσω ξὺν ἵπποις καμπύλοις τ' ὀχήμασιν.
τάχ' ἂν πρὸς ἡμᾶς τῆσδε γῆς ἀρχηγέτης
< >
ὀπτῆρες εἶεν, ἀγγέλων πεπυσμένοι.
ἀλλ' εἴτ' ἀπήμων εἴτε καὶ τεθηγμένος
ὠμῇ ξὺν ὀργῇ τόνδ' ἐπόρνυται στόλον,
ἄμεινόν ἐστι παντὸς οὕνεκ', ὦ κόραι,
πάγον προσίζειν τόνδ' ἀγωνίων θεῶν·
κρεῖσσον δὲ πύργου βωμός, ἄρρηκτον σάκος.
ἀλλ' ὡς τάχιστα βᾶτε, καὶ λευκοστεφεῖς
ἱκετηρίας, ἀγάλματ' αἰδοίου Διός,
σεμνῶς ἔχουσαι διὰ χερῶν εὐωνύμων
αἰδοῖα καὶ γοεδνὰ καὶ ζαχρεῖ' ἔπη
ξένους ἀμείβεσθ', ὡς ἐπήλυδας πρέπει,
τορῶς λέγουσαι τάσδ' ἀναιμάκτους φυγάς.
φθογγῇ δ' ἐπέσθω πρῶτα μὲν τὸ μὴ θρασύ,
τὸ μὴ μάταιον δ' ἐκ †μετώπω σωφρονῶν†
ἴτω προσώπων ὄμματος παρ' ἡσύχου.

184 ἀρχηγέτης Friis Johansen: ἀρχηγέται M.
184–5 lacuna posited by Foss: perh. e.g. ‹ὀπάονές τ' ἴοιεν, ὡς τῶν ἐνθάδε› (see *BICS* 24 [1977] 69). 186 τεθηγμένος Portus: τεθειμένος M. 188 οὕνεκ' Heath: εἵνεκ' M.
189 τόνδ' Turnebus: τῶνδ' M. 193 εὐωνύμων Portus, Scaliger (cf. Σ τῇ ἀριστερᾷ): συνωνύμων M.
194 γοεδνὰ Robortello, Turnebus: γοείδηα M.
194 ζαχρεῖ' Geel: τὰ χρέα M. 198 μετώπω σωφρονῶν M: σεσωφρονισμένων (cf. 724) Dindorf.

of an army; the sockets of wheels are not silent as the axles drive them round; and now I see a mass of men bearing shields and spears, together with horses and curve-fronted chariots. Perhaps the ruler of this land ‹and his followers may be coming› to us ‹to› view for themselves ‹what is happening here›,[37] after getting word from messengers. But whether he has set out on this mission with no harmful intent, or whetted with raw anger, it is best from every point of view, girls, to sit at this rock sacred to the Assembled Gods:[38] an altar is an unbreakable shield, stronger than a city wall. But come as quickly as you can; hold reverently in your left hands[39] your white-wreathed suppliant-branches, sacred emblems of Zeus the enforcer of respect,[40] and answer the natives in words that display respect, sorrow and need, as it is proper for aliens to do, explaining clearly this flight of yours which is not due to bloodshed. Let your speech, in the first place, not be accompanied by arrogance, and let it emerge from your disciplined faces and your calm eyes that you are free

[37] The supplements are my tentative suggestions for filling a gap in the text (see apparatus), modifying a proposal by H. Friis Johansen and E. W. Whittle, *Symbolae Osloenses* 50 (1975) 11–14. [38] Or "the Gods of the Assembly". Outside this play the *ἀγώνιοι θεοί* are mentioned only in *Ag.* 513 (also set at Argos) and Plato, *Laws* 783a; the term appears to refer to a common cult of all the major Olympians (cf. 222), like that of the "Twelve Gods" in the Agora at Athens.

[39] The *right* hand of the suppliant is the one with which (s)he clings to an altar or image, or attempts to touch the person being supplicated (cf. e.g. Euripides, *Heraclidae* 844). [40] Zeus is *αἰδοῖος* in his capacity as the god who demands that suppliants be treated with respect (*αἰδώς*: cf. 29, 345, 362, 491, 641).

καὶ μὴ πρόλεσχος μηδ' ἐφολκὸς ἐν λόγῳ
γένῃ· τὸ τῇδε κάρτ' ἐπίφθονον γένος.
μέμνησο δ' εἴκειν· χρεῖος εἶ, ξένη, φυγάς·
θρασυστομεῖν γὰρ οὐ πρέπει τοὺς ἥσσονας.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

πάτερ, φρονούντως πρὸς φρονοῦντας ἐννέπεις·
φυλάξομαι δὲ τάσδε μεμνῆσθαι σέθεν
κεδνὰς ἐφετμάς· Ζεὺς δὲ γεννήτωρ ἴδοι.

ΔΑΝΑΟΣ

ἴδοιτο δῆτα πρευμενοῦς ἀπ' ὄμματος.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

θέλοιμ' ἂν ἤδη σοὶ πέλας θρόνους ἔχειν.

ΔΑΝΑΟΣ

μή νυν σχόλαζε· μηχανῇ δ' ἔστω κράτος.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ὦ Ζεῦ, σκοπῶν οἴκτιρε μη 'πολωλότας.

ΔΑΝΑΟΣ

κείνου θέλοντος εὖ τελευτήσει τάδε.
καὶ Ζηνὸς ὄρνιν τόνδε νῦν κικλῄσκετε.

202 εἶ ξένη Sophianus, Turnebus: εἶξεν ἡ M.
207–210 thus transposed by Hermann.
207 μηχανῇ Sommerstein (μηχαναῖς Bothe): μηχανῆς M.
209 ὦ Turnebus: ἰὼ M. 209 Ζεῦ σκοπῶν Friis Johansen: ζεὺσ κόπων M: ζεῦ κόπων M^s.
212 κικλῄσκετε *m*: κικλήσκεται M^s: κικλίσκεται M.

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41 The image of Zeus apparently has an eagle perching on its head or hand (cf. Aristophanes, *Birds* 514–5); the Egyptian god

of wantonness. And be neither forward nor sluggish in speech: the people here are very ready to take offence. Remember to be yielding—you are a needy foreign refugee: bold speech does not suit those in a weak position.

CHORUS

Father, you speak sensibly to sensible listeners. I shall take care to remember this good advice of yours. May our ancestor Zeus watch over us!

DANAUS

May he do so indeed, with kindly eye!

CHORUS

I would like now to take my seat close to you.

DANAUS

Then do not delay; and may our stratagem be successful!

The CHORUS *move close to the shrine.*

CHORUS

Zeus, look on us and pity us before we perish!

DANAUS

If he is willing, all this will end well. Now call also on this bird of Zeus.[41]

Amun-Re, whom Greeks identified with Zeus, was often portrayed as, or with the head of, a hawk which represented the sun (see E. M. Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian* [Oxford, 1989] 144–6). Aeschylus and his audience evidently knew about the Egyptian sun-bird, and may well have been misled by the identification of Amun-Re with Zeus into supposing that the bird was an eagle: later sources (Diodorus Siculus 1.87.9, Strabo 17.1.40) say that in Thebes (the greatest centre of Amun's cult) the eagle was worshipped.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

καλοῦμεν αὐγὰς Ἡλίου σωτηρίους.

ΔΑΝΑΟΣ

ἁγνόν τ᾽ Ἀπόλλω, φυγάδ᾽ ἀπ᾽ οὐρανοῦ θεόν.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

215 εἰδὼς ἂν αἶσαν τήνδε συγγνοίη βροτοῖς.

ΔΑΝΑΟΣ

συγγνοῖτο δῆτα καὶ παρασταίη πρόφρων.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

τίν᾽ οὖν κικλῄσκω τῶνδε δαιμόνων ἔτι;

ΔΑΝΑΟΣ

ὁρῶ τρίαιναν τήνδε, σημεῖον θεοῦ.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἀλλ᾽ εὖ τ᾽ ἔπεμψεν εὖ τε δεξάσθω χθονί.

ΔΑΝΑΟΣ

220 Ἑρμῆς ὅδ᾽ ἄλλος τοῖσιν Ἑλλήνων νόμοις.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἐλευθέροις νυν ἐσθλὰ κηρυκεύετω.

215 *συγγνοίη* Lobeck (after Robortello, Turnebus): *εὐγνώη* M. 217 *κικλῄσκω* Arsenius: *κικλίσκω* M.

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42 For killing the Cyclopes Apollo was sentenced to a period of servitude on earth, during which he herded the cattle of Admetus (Hesiod fr. 54; Euripides, *Alcestis* 1–8). 43 Poseidon.

44 Greeks identified the Egyptian god Thoth with their own Hermes. Danaus means that the image he sees is the Greek way of

CHORUS

We call upon the rays of the Sun, which bring salvation.

DANAUS

And holy Apollo, the god exiled from heaven.[42]

CHORUS

Knowing what such a fate is like, he will sympathize with mortal exiles.

DANAUS

May he indeed do so, and may he stand by us as a willing helper.

CHORUS

Who else of these divinities should I call upon?

DANAUS

I see this trident, symbol of a god.[43]

CHORUS

He gave us a good voyage; may he give us a good reception in this land.

DANAUS

This other one is Hermes, according to the Greeks' usage.[44]

CHORUS

May we receive proclamations of good news from him[45] in freedom.

representing the god he knows as Thoth, but since by convention he is made to speak Greek (cf. on 119), he says not Θώθ but Ἑρμῆς—just as Roman writers quoting or inventing the words of Greeks make them speak of Hermes as *Mercurius*.

[45] In his capacity as the divine Herald.

ΔΑΝΑΟΣ

πάντων δ' ἀνάκτων τῶνδε κοινοβωμίαν
σέβεσθ'· ἐν ἁγνῷ δ' ἑσμὸς ὣς πελειάδων
ἴζεσθε κίρκων τῶν ὁμοπτέρων φόβῳ,
ἐχθρῶν ὁμαίμων καὶ μιαινόντων γένος.
ὄρνιθος ὄρνις πῶς ἂν ἀγνεύοι φαγών;
πῶς δ' ἂν γαμῶν ἄκουσαν ἄκοντος πάρα
ἁγνὸς γένοιτ' ἄν; οὐδὲ μὴ 'ν Ἅιδου θανὼν
φύγῃ ματαίων αἰτίας πράξας τάδε·
κἀκεῖ δικάζει τἀμπλακήμαθ', ὡς λόγος,
Ζεὺς ἄλλος ἐν καμοῦσιν ὑστάτας δίκας.
σκοπεῖτε κἀμείβεσθε τόνδε τὸν τρόπον,
ὅπως ἂν ὑμῖν πρᾶγος εὖ νικᾷ τόδε.

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

ποδαπὸν ὅμιλον τόνδ' ἀνελληνόστολον
πέπλοισι βαρβάροισι κἀμπυκώμασιν
χλίοντα προσφωνοῦμεν; οὐ γὰρ Ἀργολὶς
ἐσθὴς γυναικῶν οὐδ' ἀφ' Ἑλλάδος τόπων.
ὅπως δὲ χώραν οὔτε κηρύκων ὕπο
ἀπρόξενοί τε νόσφι θ' ἡγητῶν μολεῖν

223 δ' ἑσμὸς Portus: δεσμὸσ M.
224 ἴζεσθε *m*: ἴζεσθαι M: ιξεσθε M^{s}.
224 κίρκων Robortello, Turnebus: κέρκω M^{s}: κρέκω M.
226 ἂν ἀγνεύοι Plutarch *Romulus* 9.6, *Moralia* 286c: ἀναινεύοι M.
229 ματαίων Musgrave: μάταιον M. 230 τἀμπλακήμαθ' ὡς Victorius (after Turnebus and Stephanus): ταπλα ἐν μαβωσ M.

DANAUS

Now honour this common altar of all the Lords, and sit in this holy place like a flock of doves in fearful flight from hawks, their fellow-birds, hostile kindred who defile their race. How could a bird eat of another bird, and not be polluted? How could a man marry the unwilling daughter of an unwilling father, and not become unclean? After doing such a thing he will surely not escape the punishment of his folly, even in Hades after death: there too, so they say, there is another Zeus who pronounces final judgement on the dead for their sins. [*Looking off towards the city, as if the armed party whose approach he had announced is now close at hand*] Be careful to reply in the way I spoke of, so that this action may end well and victoriously for you.

By now the CHORUS *are all seated close to the altar, on which they have laid some of their suppliant-branches.* PELASGUS *enters from the direction of the city, in a chariot, escorted by soldiers.*

PELASGUS

From what place does this company come that I am addressing, in un-Greek garb, wearing luxurious barbarian robes and headbands? The dress of these women is not from the Argive region, nor from any place in Greece. And how you dared to come to this land so fearlessly, under the

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232 *τρόπον* anon.: *τόπον* M.
234 *ἀνελληνόστολον* Bothe: *ἀνέλληνα στόλον* M.
235 *κἀμπυκώμασιν* Bergk: *καὶ πυκνώμασι* M.
238 *οὔτε* Hermann: *οὐδὲ* M.
239 *νόσφι θ'* Portus: *νόσφιν* M.

ἔτλητ᾽ ἀτρέστως, τοῦτο θαυμαστὸν πέλει.
κλάδοι γε μὲν δὴ κατὰ νόμους ἀφικτόρων
κεῖνται παρ᾽ ὑμῖν πρὸς θεοῖς ἀγωνίοις·
μόνον τόδ᾽ Ἑλλὰς χθὼν ξυνοίσεται στόχῳ.
καὶ τἄλλα πόλλ᾽ ἔτ᾽ εἰκάσαι δίκαιον ἦν,
εἰ μὴ παρόντι φθόγγος ἦν ὁ σημανῶν.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

εἴρηκας ἀμφὶ κόσμον ἀψευδῆ λόγον·
ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς σὲ πότερον ὡς ἔτην λέγω
ἢ τηρὸν ἱερόρραβδον ἢ πόλεως ἀγόν;

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

πρὸς ταῦτ᾽ ἀμείβου καὶ λέγ᾽ εὐθαρσὴς ἐμοί.
τοῦ γηγενοῦς γάρ εἰμ᾽ ἐγὼ Παλαίχθονος
ἶνις Πελασγός, τῆσδε γῆς ἀρχηγέτης·
ἐμοῦ δ᾽ ἄνακτος εὐλόγως ἐπώνυμον
γένος Πελασγῶν τήνδε καρποῦται χθόνα.
καὶ πᾶσαν αἶαν, ἧς δι᾽ ἀγνὸς ἔρχεται

240 ἀτρέστως Sophianus, Turnebus: ἀκρέστωσ M.
243 ἔτ᾽ εἰκάσαι Martin: ἐπεικάσαι M.
248 ἱερό(ρ)ραβδον anon.: ἠερου ῥάβδον M: ἑρμοῦ ῥαβδον conj. Ms.
249 λέγ᾽ εὐθαρσὴς Turnebus: λέγετ᾽ εὐθαρσεῖς M.
251 Πελασγός Canter: πελασγοῦ M.
254 αἶαν ἧς Turnebus (αἴαν m), cf. Σ αἴας: αἴδνησ M.
254 δι᾽ ἀγνὸς Wordsworth: δίαλγοσ M.

protection neither of heralds nor of native sponsors,[46] and without guides—that is astonishing. And yet suppliant-branches are lying beside you, before the Assembled Gods, in accordance with our customs: only in that respect would "Greece" be a reasonable guess.[47] About other things, too, it would be proper to make many more conjectures, if there were not a person here with a voice to explain to me.

CHORUS

What you have said about our attire is perfectly true; but how should I address *you*—as a private individual, or a temple-warden carrying a sacred staff, or the leader of the city?[48]

PELASGUS

So far as that is concerned, you can answer and speak to me with confidence. I am Pelasgus, ruler of this city, son of earth-born Palaechthon; and this land is cultivated by the race of the Pelasgians, appropriately named after me their king. I am master of all the land through which flows the

[46] *πρόξενοι*, citizens of one state (State A) who were recognized by another state (State B) as standing in a relationship of guest-friendship with State B as a community, and who could normally be relied on to render assistance to citizens of State B residing in, or visiting, State A; see G. Herman, *Ritualised Friendship and the Greek City* (Cambridge, 1987).

[47] sc. about your origins; the Greek means literally "only in that respect will 'the Greek land' be in agreement with a guess".

[48] This is in effect a counter-question about Pelasgus' attire, which (despite his sceptre, which the Danaids think may be a "sacred staff") is evidently too plain, by their standards, for them to be sure that he is a king.

Στρυμών, τὸ πρὸς δύνοντος ἡλίου, κρατῶ·
ὁρίζομαι δὲ τήν τε Παιόνων χθόνα
Πίνδου τε τἀπέκεινα, Περραιβῶν πέλας,
ὄρη τε Δωδωναῖα· συντέμνει δ' ὅρος
ὑγρᾶς θαλάσσης. τῶνδε τἀπὶ τάδε κρατῶ.
αὐτῆς δὲ χώρας Ἀπίας πέδον τόδε
πάλαι κέκληται φωτὸς ἰατροῦ χάριν·
Ἄπις γὰρ ἐλθὼν ἐκ πέρας Ναυπακτίας
ἰατρόμαντις παῖς Ἀπόλλωνος χθόνα
τήνδ' ἐκκαθαίρει κνωδάλων βροτοφθόρων,
τὰ δὴ παλαιῶν αἱμάτων μιάσμασιν
χρανθεῖσ' ἀνῆκε γαῖα †μηνεῖται ἄκη†
δρακονθόμιλον δυσμενῆ ξυνοικίαν.
τούτων ἄκη τομαῖα καὶ λυτήρια
πράξας ἀμέμπτως Ἄπις Ἀργείᾳ χθονὶ
μνήμην τότ' ἀντίμισθον ηὖρετ' ἐν λιταῖς.
ἔχουσα δ' ἤδη τἀπ' ἐμοῦ τεκμήρια

256 *τήν τε* Portus: *τήνδε* M.
256–7 *Παιόνων . . . Περραιβῶν* Friis Johansen: *Περραιβῶν . . . Παιόνων* M. 259 *τἀπὶ τάδε* Canter: *τἄπειτα δὲ* M.
265 *δὴ* Turnebus: *δὲ* M. 266 *μηνεῖται ἄκη* M: *μηνῖτις δάκη* Wecklein: *μηνίσασ' ἄχη* Martin.
267 *δρακονθόμιλον* Bothe: *δράκονθ' ὅμιλον* M^s: *δράκων θ'ὁμιλῶν* M.
269 *ἀμέμπτως* Robortello, Turnebus, Ἄπις (*ἄπις*) *m*: *μεμπτῶς ἄπεισ'* M.
270 *τότ'* Kirchhoff: *ποντ* M: *ποτ'* Turnebus.
270 *ἀντίμισθον* Turnebus: *αντινεισθον* M.
271 *ἔχουσα δ'* Heimsoeth: *ἔχουσαν* $\gamma\rho M^s$: *ἔχον δ'ἂν* M.

holy Strymon, on the side of the setting sun,[49] and I mark as my boundary the land of the Paeonians,[50] and the parts beyond Pindus near the Perrhaebians,[51] and the mountains of Dodona; the limit that cuts it short is the watery sea. I rule what is on the hither side of these. The soil of this land itself, Apia, received its name long ago in honour of a healer. Apis the healer and seer, son of Apollo, came from the land of Naupactus across the sea,[52] and cleansed this land of the man-destroying creatures which the angry earth, stained by the pollution of old bloodshed, had sent up from below, a hostile horde of serpents sharing our home. From these Apis effected, beyond all cavil, a decisive,[53] liberating cure for the Argive land, and in return won as his reward the right to be remembered in prayers. Now you have the

[49] i.e. of all the land to the west of the (lower) Strymon.

[50] The Paeonians were a non-Greek tribe living in western Thrace and eastern Macedonia.

[51] In the fifth century Perrhaebia was the name of a district in north-eastern Thessaly (Herodotus 7.128.1, Thucydides 4.78.5–6); but in the *Iliad* (2.749–750) the Per(rh)aebi live "near Dodona", and Sophocles (fr. 271) places them near Mounts Pindus and Lacmus, which separate Thessaly on the east from Epirus on the west and in which rise tributaries of those regions' major rivers, the Peneus (*Iliad* 2.751–5) and the Achelous (Soph. loc.cit.).

[52] On the north side of the Corinthian Gulf, near its western end.

[53] lit. "by cutting, surgical", hence "(drastic but) effective" (cf. Hippocrates, *Aphorisms* 7.87 "What drugs will not cure, the knife will").

γένος τ᾽ ἂν ἐξεύχοιο καὶ λέγοις πρόσω·
μακράν γε μὲν δὴ ῥῆσιν οὐ στέργει πόλις.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

βραχὺς τορός θ᾽ ὁ μῦθος· Ἀργεῖαι γένος
ἐξευχόμεσθα, σπέρματ᾽ εὐτέκνου βοός·
χὡς ταῦτ᾽ ἀληθῆ, πιστὰ προσφύσω λόγῳ.

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

ἄπιστα μυθεῖσθ᾽, ὦ ξέναι, κλυεῖν ἐμοί,
ὅπως τόδ᾽ ὑμῖν ἐστιν Ἀργεῖον γένος.
Λιβυστικοῖς γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐμφερέστεραι
γυναιξίν ἐστε κοὐδαμῶς ἐγχωρίοις·
καὶ Νεῖλος ἂν θρέψειε τοιοῦτον φυτόν·
εἰκὼς χαρακτὴρ τ᾽ ἐν γυναικείοις τύποις
Κυπρίοις πέπληκται τεκτόνων πρὸς ἀρσένων·
Ἰνδάς τ᾽ ἀκούω νομάδας ἱπποβάμοσιν
εἶναι καμήλοις ἀστραβιζούσας χθόνα
παρ᾽ Αἰθίοψιν ἀστυγειτονουμένας·
καὶ τὰς ἀνάνδρους κρεοβότους τ᾽ Ἀμαζόνας,

272 *γένος τ᾽ . . . λέγοις* Robortello, *πρόσω* Arsenius: *γένοιτ᾽ . . . λέγοι προσωσ* M.
273 *μὲν* Robortello, *δὴ ῥῆσιν* Sophianus, Turnebus: *μιν δηρίσιν* M. 276 *χὡς* Sommerstein: *καὶ* M.
276 *πιστὰ* Zakas: *πάντα* M.
280 *γυναιξὶν* Turnebus: *γυναιξὶ δ᾽* M. 282–3 *εἰκὼς . . . Κυπρίοις* Sommerstein: *Κύπριος . . . εἰκὼς* M.
284 *Ἰνδάς* anon.: *ἰνδούσ* M.
284 *ἀκούω* Robortello, Turnebus: *ἀκούων* M.
285 *ἱπποβάμοσιν* Turnebus: *ἱπποβάμοισιν* M.

evidence from me, you can declare what race you are of, and tell me more. However, our city does not love long speeches.[54]

CHORUS

Our statement is brief and clear. We declare that we are Argive by race, the offspring of the cow that bore a fine child; and to show that this is true, we will add proofs to what we have said.

PELASGUS

What you say, strangers, is unbelievable for me to hear, that this group of yours is of Argive descent. You bear more resemblance to the women of Libya—certainly not to those of this country. The Nile, too, might nurture such a crop; and a similar stamp is struck upon the dies of Cyprian womanhood by male artificers.[55] I hear, too, that there are nomad women in India, near neighbours to the Ethiopians,[56] who saddle their way across country on camels that run like horses; and then the man-shunning, meat-eating Amazons—if you were equipped with bows, I'd be very in-

[54] The Argives, as well as the Spartans, had a reputation for brevity of speech; cf. Pindar, *Isthmian* 6.58–59; Sophocles fr. 64.

[55] i.e. Cyprian fathers, impregnating Cyprian mothers, procreate children whom you resemble; see *BICS* 24 (1977) 69–71.

[56] Greeks gave the name Αἰθίοπες not only to the black peoples of inner Africa but also to a people whom they called the "eastern Ethiopians", straight-haired and living near the Indians (Herodotus 7.70). In *Prom.* 808–9 the two seem to be identified, as if there were continuous land linking south Asia directly to the upper Nile.

287 κρεοβότους Scaliger, τ' Porson: κρεοβρότους δ' M.

εἰ τοξοτευχεῖς ἦστε, κάρτ' ἂν ἤκασα
ὑμᾶς. διδαχθεὶς δ' ἂν τόδ' εἰδείην πλέον,
ὅπως γένεθλον σπέρμα τ' Ἀργεῖον τὸ σόν.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

κληδοῦχον Ἥρας φασὶ δωμάτων ποτὲ
Ἰὼ γενέσθαι τῇδ' ἐν Ἀργείᾳ χθονί.

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

ἦν ὡς μάλιστα, καὶ φάτις πολλὴ κρατεῖ.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

μὴ καὶ λόγος τις Ζῆνα μειχθῆναι βροτῷ;

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

κἄκρυπτά γ' Ἥρας ταῦτα τἀμπαλάγματ' ἦν.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

< -μάτων.>

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

πῶς οὖν τελευτᾷ βασιλέων νείκη τάδε;

ΧΟΡΟΣ

βοῦν τὴν γυναῖκ' ἔθηκεν Ἀργεία θεός.

289 δ' Abresch: om. M.
292 τῇδ' ἐν Sophianus, Turnebus: τῇ ἰδεῖν M.
295 μειχθῆναι (μιχθῆναι) *m*: μιχθῆνα M.
296 κἄκρυπτα Hermann: καὶ κρυπτὰ M.
296 ταῦτα τἀμπαλάγματ' ἦν Wilamowitz (-ματα Hermann): ταῦτα παλλαγμάτων M: ταῦτ' ἄρ' ἦν παλαίσματα West.
297 lacuna posited by Porson: <κυρεῖ δύ' ἤδη τῶν ἐμῶν τοξευμάτων> e.g. West.

clined to guess that you were them. If you explain to me, I may understand better how your birth and descent can be Argive.

CHORUS

They say that once upon a time a certain Io was keyholder[57] of the temple of Hera in this land of Argos.

PELASGUS

She certainly was; that is the general and dominant tradition.

CHORUS

Is there perhaps also a story about Zeus making love to a mortal?

PELASGUS

Yes, and their embraces did not remain concealed from Hera.

CHORUS

<Two of my arrows have already hit the mark.>[58]

PELASGUS

How, then, did this quarrel between the royal pair[59] end?

CHORUS

The Argive goddess turned the woman into a cow.

[57] i.e. priestess.

[58] This renders West's tentative supplement, for which see *Studies* 139–140.

[59] Zeus and Hera.

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299 *βοῦν τὴν* Canter, Portus: *βούτην* Mpc: *βουνίτην* Mac.

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

οὐκοῦν πελάζει Ζεὺς ἔτ᾽ εὐκραίρῳ βοΐ;

ΧΟΡΟΣ

φασίν, πρέποντα βουθόρῳ ταύρῳ δέμας.

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

τί δῆτα πρὸς ταῦτ᾽ ἄλοχος ἰσχυρὰ Διός;

ΧΟΡΟΣ

τὸν πάνθ᾽ ὁρῶντα φύλακ᾽ ἐπέστησεν βοΐ.

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

ποῖον πανόπτην οἰοβουκόλον λέγεις;

ΧΟΡΟΣ

Ἄργον, τὸν Ἑρμῆς παῖδα Γῆς κατέκτανεν.

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

τί οὖν ἔτευξ᾽ ἔτ᾽ ἄλλο δυσπότμῳ βοΐ;

ΧΟΡΟΣ

βοηλάτην ‹ἔπεμψεν ἐπτερωμένον.

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

βοῶν λέγεις› μύωπα κινητήριον;

300 ἔτ᾽ Schütz: ἐπ᾽ M.
301 πρέποντα Turnebus: πρέποντας M.
302 δῆτα Victorius: δὴ M.
302 ταῦτ᾽ ἄλοχος Turnebus, Robortello, ἰσχυρὰ Pauw: ταὐταλόχοισχυρα M.
306 ἔτευξ᾽ ἔτ᾽ Robertson: ἔτευξε δ᾽ M.
306a-7 lacuna posited, and tentative supplement proposed, by West.

PELASGUS

So did Zeus couple again with this cow with the beautiful horns?

CHORUS

They say he did, mounting her in the shape and likeness of a bull.

PELASGUS

And what did the powerful consort of Zeus do in response to that?

CHORUS

She set over the cow a watchman who could see everything.[60]

PELASGUS

Who is this all-seeing lone cowherd you speak of?

CHORUS

Argus, child of Earth, whom Hermes slew.

PELASGUS

What else, then, did she contrive against the unfortunate cow?

CHORUS

‹She sent a winged› cattle-driver.

PELASGUS

‹Do you mean› the gadfly[61] that forces ‹cattle› to keep moving?

[60] Because he had eyes all over his body (as often portrayed in contemporary art).

[61] Greek *μύωψ*.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

308 οἶστρον καλοῦσιν αὐτὸν οἱ Νείλου πέλας.

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

310 καὶ ταῦτ' ἔλεξας πάντα συγκόλλως ἐμοί.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

311 καὶ μὴν Κάνωβον κἀπὶ Μέμφιν ἵκετο.

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

309 τοῖ γάρ νιν ἐκ γῆς ἤλασεν μακρῷ δρόμῳ;

ΧΟΡΟΣ

313 καὶ Ζεύς γ' ἐφάπτωρ χειρὶ φιτύει γόνον.

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

τί οὖν ὁ Διὸς πόρτις εὔχεται βοός;

ΧΟΡΟΣ

315 Ἔπαφος, ἀληθῶς ῥυσίων ἐπώνυμος.

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

‹Ἐπάφου δὲ ;›

ΧΟΡΟΣ

Λιβύη, μέγιστον γῆς ‹∪–› καρπουμένη.

308 πέλας Turnebus: πέδας M: παῖδες conj. M^{s}.
309 transposed by Rose to follow 311.
309 ἐκ γῆς Portus: ἐκ τῆς M. 313 φιτύει Scaliger: φυτεύει M. 315/6 lacuna posited by Stanley.
317 ‹λάχος› suppl. Zakas, ‹θέρος› Dawe.

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62 οἶστρος is a Greek, not an Egyptian word; cf. on 119 and 220.

CHORUS

Those who dwell near the Nile call it *oistros*.[62]

PELASGUS

This too that you have said matches my information perfectly.

CHORUS

And in fact she came to Canobus and Memphis.[63]

PELASGUS

Is *that* where it drove her to, in her long flight from this land?

CHORUS

Yes, and Zeus the Toucher begot a child for her by the touch of his hand.

PELASGUS

So what does the cow's Zeus-begotten calf claim to be called?

CHORUS

Epaphus, rightly named after her deliverance.

PELASGUS

<And who was Epaphus' child?>

CHORUS

Libya, who reaped the fruits of a vast <portion> of land.[64]

63 Canobus was a town at one of the mouths of the Nile, just east of what was to become the site of Alexandria; in *Prom.* 846–9 it is prophesied that Io's wanderings will end there. Memphis, the ancient capital of Egypt, was further inland, a little south of modern Cairo.

64 Presumably the whole of Africa, for the continent took its Greek name from her.

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

τίν᾽ οὖν ἔτ᾽ ἄλλον τῆσδε βλαστημὸν λέγεις;

ΧΟΡΟΣ

Βῆλον δίπαιδα, πατέρα τοῦδ᾽ ἐμοῦ πατρός.

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

τὸ πάνσοφόν νυν ὄνομα τούτου μοι φράσον.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

Δαναός· ἀδελφὸς δ᾽ ἐστὶ πεντηκοντόπαις.

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

καὶ τοῦδ᾽ ἄνοιγε τοὔνομ᾽ ἀφθόνῳ λόγῳ.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

Αἴγυπτος. εἰδὼς δ᾽ ἀμὸν ἀρχαῖον γένος
πράσσοις ἄν, ὡς Ἀργεῖον ἀνστῆσαι στόλον.

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

δοκεῖτε μέν μοι τῆσδε κοινωνεῖν χθονὸς
τἀρχαῖον. ἀλλὰ πῶς πατρῷα δώματα
λιπεῖν ἔτλητε; τίς κατέσκηψεν τύχη;

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἄναξ Πελασγῶν, αἰόλ᾽ ἀνθρώπων κακά,

320 τούτου Portus: τοῦτό M.
321 ἀδελφὸς δ᾽ Scaliger: δ᾽ ἀδελφὸς M.
321 πεντηκοντόπαις Arsenius: πεντηκοστόπαις M.
322 τοῦδ᾽ ἄνοιγε Porson: τοῦ δαναόιγε M.
323 εἰδὼς Turnebus: δ᾽ εἰδὼσ M.
324 ἀνστῆσαι Marckscheffel: ἀνστήσας M: ἀντήσας M^{s} mg.
325 μὲν Zakas: om. M.

PELASGUS

Well, who else do you now name as *her* offspring?

CHORUS

Belus, who had two children, and was the father of my father here.

PELASGUS

Now tell me *his* wise and apt name.

CHORUS

Danaus; and he has a brother with fifty sons.[65]

PELASGUS

Do not begrudge revealing his name too.

CHORUS

Aegyptus. Now you know my ancient lineage, you can act so as to accept the supplication of[66] this Argive band.

PELASGUS

You seem to me to have an ancient stake in this land. But what made you bring yourselves to leave your father's home? What misfortune fell upon you?

CHORUS

Lord of the Pelasgians, human sufferings are ever-chang-

[65] Strictly speaking πεντηκοντάπαις means "with fifty *children*", but later (esp. 335) the Danaids speak as though Pelasgus knew (as of course the audience do) that their cousins were all male.

[66] lit. "cause to stand up", i.e. persuade to leave sanctuary by promising protection; Pelasgus eventually does so at 506ff.

πόνου δ' ἴδοις ἂν οὐδαμοῦ ταὐτὸν πτερόν·
ἐπεὶ τίς ηὖχει τήνδ' ἀνέλπιστον φυγὴν
κέλσειν ἐς Ἄργος κῆδος ἐγγενὲς †τὸ πρὶν
ἔχει μετὰ πτοιοῦσαν† εὐναίων γάμων;

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

τί φήις μ' ἱκνεῖσθαι τῶνδ' ἀγωνίων θεῶν
λευκοστεφεῖς ἔχουσα νεοδρέπτους κλάδους;

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ὡς μὴ γένωμαι δμωὶς Αἰγύπτου γένει.

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

πότερα κατ' ἔχθραν, ἢ τὸ μὴ θέμις λέγεις;

ΧΟΡΟΣ

τίς δ' ἂν φιλοῦσ' ὠνοῖτο τοὺς κεκτημένους;

329 πτερόν Turnebus: πότερον M.
331 κέλσειν Robortello, Turnebus: κέλσειεν M.
331–2 so M: τὸ πρὶν ἔχθει (Turnebus) μεταπτοηθὲν West: τὸ πᾶν ἔχθει μ' ἀποπτύουσαν Friis Johansen & Whittle.
333 μ' Abresch: om. M.
337 φιλοῦσ' Bamberger, ὠνοῖτο Turnebus: φίλουσ ὤνοιτο M.

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67 lit. "feather", the metaphor being from birds whose feathers seem to change colour when viewed from different angles.

68 I translate a restoration considered, but not adopted, by Friis Johansen and Whittle *ad loc.* West's emendation (see apparatus) gives the sense "Who ever supposed that there would land at Argos, on this unforeseen flight, a former family connection, fluttered into a change of location by hatred of marriage?" (West,

ing, and wherever you look you will never see trouble showing the same face.[67] Who ever supposed that I would take to flight like this, against all expectation, and land at Argos, rejecting with disgust a marriage-tie with my close kindred through loathing of the marital bed?[68]

PELASGUS

Why do you say you are supplicating me in the name of these Assembled Gods, holding these fresh-plucked, white-wreathed boughs?

CHORUS

So that I may not become a slave to the sons of Aegyptus.

PELASGUS

Is this because of hatred, or are you talking about something wrongful?[69]

CHORUS

Who would love someone whom she was buying as an owner?[70]

Studies 142); but κῆδος normally means "family connection *through marriage*" and is the last term the Danaids would use to describe the *blood* kinship with the Argives which they have just painstakingly proved they possess, while on the other hand κῆδος ἐγγενές "a kindred marriage alliance" precisely describes the marriage to their cousins from which they are fleeing.

[69] i.e. are you saying that the Aegyptiads are demanding something to which they have no lawful right?

[70] For this equation of marriage with slavery cf. Euripides, *Medea* 232–4: "we have to buy a husband at a high price and take him as absolute master of our person."

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

σθένος μὲν οὕτως μεῖζον αὔξεται βροτοῖς.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

καὶ δυστυχούντων γ᾽ εὐμαρὴς ἀπαλλαγή.

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

πῶς οὖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εὐσεβὴς ἐγὼ πέλω;

ΧΟΡΟΣ

αἰτοῦσι μὴ ᾽κδοὺς παισὶν Αἰγύπτου πάλιν.

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

βαρέα σύ γ᾽ εἶπας, πόλεμον ἄρασθαι νέον.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἀλλ᾽ ἡ Δίκη γε ξυμμάχων ὑπερστατεῖ.

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

εἴπερ γ᾽ ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς πραγμάτων κοινωνὸς ἦν.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

αἰδοῦ σὺ πρύμναν πόλεος ὧδ᾽ ἐστεμμένην.

339 δυστυχούντων *m*, γ᾽ Turnebus: δυστυχόντων τ᾽ M^{s}: δυστυχόντων M. 341 μὴ ᾽κδοὺς Schütz: μὴκδῶισ M.
342 ἄρασθαι *m*: αἴρασθαι M. 344 κοινωνὸς ἦν Sophianus, Turnebus: κοινὸσ ἦν M^{pc}: κοιν[. .᾽ .]ν M^{ac}.
345 ἐστεμμένην Robortello, Turnebus: ἐστεμμένη M.

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71 The Danaids have in effect rejected the principle of Greek social organization that marriage is the transfer of a woman, object-like, from one family to another; Pelasgus replies with the conventional wisdom—that arranged marriages enable families to build up alliances and strengthen their social position.

PELASGUS

That is how people increase their strength.[71]

CHORUS

Yes, and when they fall into misfortune they're easily got rid of.[72]

PELASGUS

Well then, how can I act piously towards you?

CHORUS

By not giving us back into the hands of Aegyptus' sons when they demand us.

PELASGUS

That's a hard thing you're asking—to provoke an outbreak of war.

CHORUS

But Justice stands by those who fight for her.

PELASGUS

She will, *if* she was a partner in your cause from the beginning.

CHORUS

Respect the poop of the ship of state, garlanded as it is.[73]

[72] i.e. a marriage alliance between two families gives no security to the weaker, since the stronger can easily repudiate it.

[73] The poop, where the steersman stood, was the most vital part of the ship (cf. *Seven* 2); and this shrine, claim the Danaids, is the most vital spot in Argos—all the more so now it has been "garlanded" with their suppliant-boughs. There is an allusion to the garlanding of the sterns of ships on sacred missions (cf. Plato, *Phaedo* 58a-c).

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

πέφρικα λεύσσων τάσδ' ἕδρας κατασκίους·
βαρύς γε μέντοι Ζηνὸς ἱκεσίου κότος.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

στρ. α Παλαίχθονος τέκος, κλῦθί μου
πρόφρονι καρδίᾳ, Πελασγῶν ἄναξ.
ἴδε με τὰν ἱκέτιν φυγάδα περίδρομον,
λυκοδίωκτον ὡς δάμαλιν ἂμ πέτραις
ἠλιβάτοις, ἵν' ἀλ-
κᾷ πίσυνος μέμυκε φρά-
ζουσα βοτῆρι μόχθους.

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

ὁρῶ κλάδοισι νεοδρόποις κατάσκιον
ναύονθ' ὅμιλον τῶνδ' ἀγωνίων θεῶν·
εἴη δ' ἄνατον πρᾶγμα τοὔτ' ἀστοξένων,
μηδ' ἐξ ἀέλπτων κἀπρομηθήτων πόλει
νεῖκος γένηται· τῶν γὰρ οὐ δεῖται πόλις.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἀντ. α ἴδοιτο δῆτ' ἄνατον φυγὰν

346 *πέφρικα* Robortello: *πέφυκα* M.
346 *τάσδ' ἕδρας* Robortello: *τὰς δέδρας m*: *τὰσδέδρα* M.
350 *με τὰν* Stephanus: *μέγαν* M.
351 *λυκοδίωκτον* Hermann: *λευκόδικτον* M.
351 *ἠλιβάτοις ἵν'* Valckenaer: *ἠλιβάτοισιν* M.
355 *ναύονθ'* Wecklein: *νέον θ'* M: *νεύονθ'* Bamberger.
359 *δῆτ'* Pauw: *δῆτα τὰν* M.

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74 Cf. 354–5 below.

75 The Danaids are *ἀστόξενοι* because, though foreigners

PELASGUS

I shudder to see this divine abode in shadow:[74] the wrath of Zeus god of suppliants is certainly heavy.

CHORUS

Son of Palaechthon, hear me
with a gracious heart, lord of the Pelasgians.
See me, the suppliant, the wandering fugitive,
like a heifer chased by a wolf up
the steep rocks, where,
trusting to their protection, she lows loudly,
letting the herdsman know of her peril.

PELASGUS

I see this company, shaded by fresh-plucked boughs, supplicating in the name of these Assembled Gods. May the business of these citizen-strangers[75] not prove ruinous, and may this event, never expected or planned for, not bring strife to the community: the city doesn't need that!

CHORUS

May the Right that protects suppliants, servant[76] of Zeus Klarios,[77]

(ξέναι) inasmuch as they have come to Argos from abroad and are of alien appearance, they are citizens (ἀσταί) by descent.

76 Or "daughter"; the Greek text merely describes Right (Themis) as "of Zeus". In the twenty-third *Homeric Hymn*, and in Pindar, *Olympian* 8.21–22, Themis is said to sit close to Zeus (cf. Dike in Aesch. fr. 281a.10).

77 This title of Zeus is otherwise known only from Tegea (Pausanias 8.53.9) where, perhaps significantly, it is associated with "the elevated place on which stand most of the Tegeans' altars". Alternatively, it may here be an alternative designation of Zeus as god of suppliants (Hikesios); suppliants' boughs could apparently be called κλάριοι (cf. Hesychius κ2870).

ἱκεσία Θέμις Διὸς κλαρίου.
σὺ δὲ παρ᾽ ὀψιγόνου μάθε γεραιόφρων·
ποτιτρόπαιον αἰδόμενος οὐ λιπερ-
‹νὴς ∪∪–∪–
–› ἱεραδοκεῖ θεῶν
λήματ᾽ ἀπ᾽ ἀνδρὸς ἁγνοῦ.

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

οὗτοι κάθησθε δωμάτων ἐφέστιοι
ἐμῶν· τὸ κοινὸν δ᾽ εἰ μιαίνεται πόλις,
ξυνῇ μελέσθω λαὸς ἐκπονεῖν ἄκη.
ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἂν οὐ κραίνοιμ᾽ ὑπόσχεσιν πάρος,
ἀστοῖς δὲ πᾶσι τῶνδε κοινώσας πέρι.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

στρ. β σύ τοι πόλις, σὺ δὲ τὸ δάμιον·
πρύτανις ἄκριτος ὢν
κρατύνεις βωμόν, ἑστίαν χθονός,
μονοψήφοισι νεύμασιν σέθεν,
μονοσκήπτροισι δ᾽ ἐν θρόνοις χρέος
πᾶν ἐπικραίνεις· ἄγος φυλάσσου.

361 γεραιόφρων Burges: γεραφρόνων M.
362–3 οὐ λιπερ‹νὴς . . › (or e.g. οὐ λιπερ‹νῆτα βίον ποθ᾽ ἕξεις›) Headlam, cf. Σ οὐ πτωχεύσεις: οὖν περ M.
363 lacuna posited by Heath.
363 ἱεραδοκεῖ West: ἱεροδόκα M.
367 ἐκπονεῖν Turnebus: ἐκπνοεῖν M.
368 πάρος Sophianus, Turnebus: παρακροσ M.
369 ἀστοῖς Bourdelot, τῶνδε Portus, Scaliger: ἀστῶν . . . τοῖσδε M.

indeed see that our flight does not prove ruinous!
But, old and wise as you are, learn from one later born:
if you respect one who turns to you for succour, you will
not
‹ever have a life of› want:[78]
the gods are disposed to accept the offerings
of a man pure of stain.

PELASGUS

You are not sitting at the hearth of *my* house.[79] If the city as a whole is threatened with pollution, it must be the concern of the people as a whole to work out a cure. I cannot make a binding promise beforehand, but only after making this matter known to the whole citizen body.

CHORUS

You are the city, I tell you, *you* are the people!
A head of state, not subject to judgement,
you control the altar, the hearth of the city,
by your vote and nod alone;
with your sceptre alone, on your throne, you determine
every matter. Guard against pollution!

[78] A line has been lost in M, but the scholia give the approximate sense; I translate a supplement tentatively suggested by Headlam.

[79] In other words: by taking sanctuary at a public shrine, the Danaids have made themselves supplicants, not to the individual Pelasgus, but to the Argive state.

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374 *θρόνοις* Pauw (*θρόνοισι* Sophianus): *χρόνοισι* M.
375 *ἄγος* Arsenius: *ἄλγοσ* M.

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

ἄγος μὲν εἴη τοῖς ἐμοῖς παλιγκότοις,
ὑμῖν δ' ἀρήγειν οὐκ ἔχω βλάβης ἄτερ·
οὐδ' αὖ τόδ' εὖφρον, τάσδ' ἀτιμάσαι λιτάς.
ἀμηχανῶ δὲ καὶ φόβος μ' ἔχει φρένας
δρᾶσαί τε μὴ δρᾶσαί τε καὶ τυχὴν ἑλεῖν.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἀντ. β τὸν ὑψόθεν σκοπὸν ἐπισκόπει,
φύλακα πολυπόνων
βροτῶν οἳ τοῖς πέλας προσήμενοι
δίκας οὐ τυγχάνουσιν ἐννόμου.
μένει τοι Ζηνὸς ἱκταίου κότος,
δυσπαράθελκτος παθόντος οἴκτοις.

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

εἴ τοι κρατοῦσι παῖδες Αἰγύπτου σέθεν
νόμῳ πόλεως, φάσκοντες ἐγγύτατα γένους
εἶναι, τίς ἂν τοῖς ἀντιωθῆναι θέλοι;
δεῖ τοί σε φεύγειν κατὰ νόμους τοὺς οἴκοθεν,
ὡς οὐκ ἔχουσιν κῦρος οὐδὲν ἀμφὶ σοῦ.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

στρ. γ μή τί ποτ' οὖν γενοίμαν ὑποχείριος
κράτεσιν ἀρσένων· ὕπαστρον δέ τοι
μῆχαρ ὁρίζομαι γάμου δύσφρονος

380 -σαι τε καὶ *m*: -σητε καὶ M.
386 δυσπαράθελκτος Schütz: ὦ δυσπαρθέλκτοισ M: δυσπαρθενήτοισ M^s marg. 389 τίς Turnebus: τίς δ' M.
392 ὑποχείριος Robortello, Turnebus: ὑποχέριος M.

PELASGUS

As for pollution, may it befall my enemies! But I cannot aid you without causing harm; yet it is also not wise to disregard these prayers. I am at a loss—fear grips my mind—whether to act, or not to act and to take my chances.

CHORUS

Look out for him who looks down from above,
the guardian of toil-worn mortals
who sit to supplicate others
and do not get the justice that custom dictates.
The wrath of Zeus god of suppliants is enduring
and not to be placated by the laments of its victim.

PELASGUS

If the sons of Aegyptus have power over you by the law of your state, saying they are your nearest kin,[80] who would be willing to oppose that claim? You must plead your case, you see, under the laws of your home country, to show that they have no authority over you.

CHORUS

May I never in any way become subject
to the power of males! To avoid
a hateful marriage, I am prepared to flee

[80] i.e. if it is the case that under Egyptian law a man is entitled as of right to demand a woman in marriage if he is her nearest kinsman. By evading an answer to this point, the Danaids virtually admit that this is indeed the legal position.

φυγάν. ξύμμαχον δ' ἑλόμενος Δίκαν
κρῖνε σέβας τὸ πρὸς θεῶν.

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

οὐκ εὔκριτον τὸ κρῖμα· μὴ 'μ' αἱροῦ κριτήν.
εἶπον δὲ καὶ πρίν, οὐκ ἄνευ δήμου τόδε
πράξαιμ' ἄν, οὐδέ περ κρατῶν, μὴ καί ποτε
εἴποι λεώς, εἴ πού τι μὴ λῷον τύχοι,
"ἐπήλυδας τιμῶν ἀπώλεσας πόλιν."

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἀντ. γ ἀμφοτέρωσ' ὁμαίμων τάδ' ἐπισκοπεῖ
Ζεὺς ἑτερορρεπής, νέμων εἰκότως
ἄδικα μὲν κακοῖς, ὅσια δ' ἐννόμοις·
τί τῶνδ' ἐξ ἴσου ῥεπομένων †μεταλ-
γεῖς τὸ δίκαιον ἔρξαι†;

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

δεῖ τοι βαθείας φροντίδος σωτηρίου,
δίκην κολυμβητῆρος εἰς βύθον μολεῖν
δεδορκὸς ὄμμα μηδ' ἄγαν ᾠνωμένον,

395 φυγάν Heath: φυγαί M.
399 μὴ καί Canter: καὶ μή M.
400 τι μὴ Turnebus, λῷον Schneidewin, τύχοι Porson: τι καὶ μὴ τοῖον τυχθῆ M.
401 ἐπήλυδας Robortello, Turnebus: εἰπήλυδασ M.
402 ἀμφοτέρωσ' Burges: ἀμφοτέρους M.
405–6 μεταλγεῖς τὸ δίκαιον ἔρξαι M (ἀπορεῖς συμμαχῆσαι τῷ Διί Σ): μεταλλᾷς τί δίκαιον ἔρξαι Maas: perh. μεταλγοῖς (Friis Johansen) τὰ δίκαι' ἂν ἔρξας (Headlam).
409 ᾠνωμένον (ὠν-) Turnebus: ὠνωμένων M.

right up to the stars![81] Choose Justice as your ally,
make the judgement that the gods approve.

PELASGUS

The judgement is not easy to judge: don't choose me to judge it. I have already said I am not prepared to do this without the people's approval, even though I have the power, lest if something not too good should happen the people may end by saying "By giving privileges to foreigners you destroyed our city".

CHORUS

Zeus, god of kindred, watches over these things
in both directions, ready to lean either way,
appropriately assigning
to the wicked their wrongs, to the law-abiding their acts
of piety.[82]
If these things are weighed fairly, how could you come
to regret it
if you do what is right?

PELASGUS

Deep thought is certainly needed to save us: the eye, like that of a diver, must scan right to the bottom—a clear-sighted eye, not one unduly fogged by wine—so that this

[81] lit. "I define my remedy for a hateful marriage <to be flight up to the stars."

[82] This may formally mean no more than that Zeus weighs up, or keeps an account of, men's good and evil deeds, but it certainly implies that he will eventually reward or punish them.

ὅπως ἄνατα ταῦτα πρῶτα μὲν πόλει,
αὐτοῖσί θ' ἡμῖν ἐκτελευτήσει καλῶς,
καὶ μήτε Δῆρις ῥυσίων ἐφάψεται
μήτ' ἐν θεῶν ἕδραισιν ὧδ' ἱδρυμένας
ἐκδόντες ὑμᾶς τὸν πανώλεθρον θεὸν
βαρὺν ξύνοικον θησόμεσθ' Ἀλάστορα,
ὃς οὐδ' ἐν Ἅιδου τὸν θανόντ' ἐλευθεροῖ.
μῶν οὐ δοκεῖ δεῖν φροντίδος σωτηρίου;

ΧΟΡΟΣ

στρ. δ φρόντισον καὶ γενοῦ πανδίκως
εὐσεβὴς πρόξενος·
τὰν φυγάδα μὴ προδῷς,
τὰν ἐκάθεν ἐκβολαῖς
δυσθέοις ὀρομέναν·

ἀντ. δ μηδ' ἴδῃς μ' ἐξ ἑδρᾶν πολυθεῶν
ῥυσιασθεῖσαν, ὦ
πᾶν κράτος ἔχων χθονός·
γνῶθι δ' ὕβριν ἀνέρων
καὶ φύλαξαι κότον.

416 ὃς Stephanus, οὐδ' ἐν Ald.: ὡσ οὐδὲν M.
417 δοκεῖ δεῖν Turnebus: δοκεῖν δεῖ M.

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[83] The "booty" that Battle may seize (or destroy) will consist in Argive lives and possibly the city itself (cf. 401).

[84] In general, ἀλάστορες (avenging spirits) tend to be thought of as a vague plurality, and one speaks of "an ἀλάστωρ" (e.g. *Pers.* 354; Euripides, *Hippolytus* 820) or of the ἀλάστωρ of a particular

matter may in the first place not prove ruinous to the city and may also end well for me myself, and that neither may Battle seize on her booty[83] nor may we, by surrendering you after you have thus established yourselves in this abode of the gods, cause a vexatious lodger to dwell with us, the god of Vengeance[84] whose devastating power does not leave free even the dead in Hades. Does it not indeed seem that thought is needed to save us?

CHORUS

Think, and become wholeheartedly
our pious sponsor:[85]
do not betray the fugitive
who comes from afar, set in motion
by an impious expulsion,[86]

and do not look on while I am seized as plunder
from this abode of so many gods,
you who hold all power in this land!
Recognize the men's outrageous behaviour,
and guard against wrath.

person or act (e.g. *Ag.* 1501; Sophocles, *Oedipus at Colonus* 788). Here, however, Ἀλάστωρ seems to be spoken of as an individual divine person. The pattern of usage of Ἐρινύ(ε)ς is quite similar, and Erinyes (Furies) too are said to pursue their victims even beyond death (*Eum.* 175–8, 339–340).

[85] Greek πρόξενος (cf. on 239).

[86] Elsewhere in the play the Danaids make it quite clear that they fled from Egypt by their own and/or their father's choice; it is an "expulsion" only in the sense that they could not have remained there without accepting the marriages they abhor.

στρ. ε μή τι τλᾷς τὰν ἱκέτιν εἰσιδεῖν
ἀπὸ βρετέων βίᾳ δίκας ἀγομέναν
ἱππάδον ἀμπύκων,
πολυμίτων πέπλων τ᾽ ἐπιλαβὰς ἐμῶν.

ἀντ. ε ἴσθι γάρ· παισὶ τάδε καὶ δόμοις,
ὁπότερ᾽ ἂν κτίσῃς, μένει· δεῖ ᾽κτίνειν
ὁμοίαν θέμιν.
τάδε φράσαι. δίκαια Διόθεν κρατεῖ.

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

καὶ δὴ πέφρασμαι, δεῦρο δ᾽ ἐξοκέλλεται·
ἢ τοῖσιν ἢ τοῖς πόλεμον αἴρεσθαι μέγαν
πᾶσ᾽ ἔστ᾽ ἀνάγκη· καὶ γεγόμφωται σκάφος,
στρέβλαισι ναυτικαῖσιν ὧς πρὸς γῇ μένον,
ἄνευ δὲ λύπης οὐδαμοῦ καταστροφή.
καὶ χρημάσιν μὲν ἐκ δόμων πορθουμένων
< >
γένοιτ᾽ ἂν ἄλλα, κτησίου Διὸς χάριν,

428 τλᾷς (τλῇς) τὰν Turnebus: τλαίης τὰν M^{s} (τλαίης Σ): τ᾽ἀαΐσταν M.
431 ἱππάδον H. Voss: ἱππηδὸν M^{pc}: ἱππηδών M^{ac}.
432 πολυμίτων Turnebus: πολυμήτων M.
435 δεῖ ᾽κτίνειν Whittle (cf. Σ δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἀποδιδόναι): δρεικτίνειν *m*: δρεικτείνειν M.
437 κρατεῖ Whittle: κράτη M.
441 πρὸς γῇ μένον Friis Johansen: προσηγμένον M.
443/5 lacuna posited by Friis Johansen.
445 transposed by anon. to precede 444.

Do not tolerate seeing the suppliant
dragged away from the divine images, in defiance of
justice,
by the headband, like a horse,
and grabbed by my richly woven robes.

Know this: whichever decision you make
will hereafter affect[87] your children and your house:
matching justice
must be paid in full.
Ponder that. Justice prevails by the will of Zeus.

PELASGUS

I have indeed pondered, and this is where my thoughts have run aground. There is absolutely no way to avoid provoking a great war, either against these or against those.[88] The ship has been bolted together, and only restraining cables, one might say, are keeping it at the shore;[89] nowhere is there an outcome free from pain. Even goods ‹taken› from a ransacked house can ‹eventually› be ‹replaced›, by the grace of Zeus god of possessions, by other goods in

87 lit. "will remain for". 88 "Either against the gods or against the sons of Aegyptus" (scholia). 89 The ship represents Pelasgus' decision, and its launching, now imminent, represents the moment when that decision will become irrevocable and its consquences unavoidable. The construction of the hull is now complete, but the vessel is still attached by cables to a windlass on shore; once the cables are let go, the ship will be waterborne. See Friis Johansen and Whittle *ad loc.*; also D. J. Blackman in J. S. Morrison and R. T. Williams, *Greek Oared Ships 900–322* BC (Cambridge, 1968) 183, 185, and L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* (Princeton, 1971) 364.

ἄτης γε μείζω, καὶ μετεμπλήσαι γόμον·
καὶ γλῶσσα τοξεύσασα μὴ τὰ καίρια,
ἀλγεινὰ θυμοῦ κέντρα κινητήρια,
γένοιτο μύθου μῦθος ἂν θελκτήριος·
ὅπως δ' ὅμαιμον αἷμα μὴ γενήσεται,
δεῖ κάρτα θύειν καὶ πεσεῖν χρηστήρια
θεοῖσι πολλοῖς πολλά, πημονῆς ἄκη.
ἦ κάρτα νείκους τοῦδ' ἐγὼ παροίχομαι·
θέλω δ' ἄιδρις μᾶλλον ἢ σοφὸς κακῶν
εἶναι· γένοιτο δ' εὖ παρὰ γνώμην ἐμήν.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

πολλῶν ἄκουσον τέρματ' αἰδοίων λόγων.

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

ἤκουσα, καὶ λέγοις ἄν· οὔ με φεύξεται.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἔχω στρόφους ζώνας τε, συλλαβὰς πέπλων.

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

τάχ' ἂν γυναικῶν ταῦτα συμπρεπῆ πέλοι.

444 ἄτης . . . γόμον Σ: ἄτην . . . γόμου M.
444 μετεμπλήσαι Korais: μέγ' ἐμπλήσασ M.
448 transposed by anon. to precede 447.
448 κέντρα Hartung: κάρτα M.
447 θελκτήριος *m*: θελκτηρίοισ M.
457 στρόφους Portus, Scaliger (cf. Σ στροφὰς): στρόβουσ M.
458 τάχ' ἂν Marckscheffel: τύχαν M.

excess of what was lost, and he can replenish its stores;[90] and a tongue that has loosed off words that are out of season—painful darts that stir anger—well, speech can soothe the hurt speech has caused. But to ensure that kindred blood shall not be spilt,[91] one should make ample offerings, and many victims should fall in sacrifice to many gods to avert[92] such a scourge. I declare I have completely stepped aside from this dispute; I would rather be ignorant than knowledgeable about these troubles. May all be well—but that is not my expectation.

CHORUS

Listen to the conclusion of my many respectful words.

PELASGUS

I am listening. Speak on; it will not escape me.

CHORUS

We have girdles and belts to hold our robes together.

PELASGUS

I suppose that is appropriate for women to have.

90 The text of this sentence is very uncertain, but the general sense is clear.

91 Since the only bloodshed Pelasgus currently fears is that of a war between Argos and Egypt, it is surprising at first sight that he should speak of *kindred* blood being spilt. The likeliest explanation is that he is implying that in asking him to fight a war on their behalf against their cousins, the Danaids are in effect seeking to commit kindred-murder by proxy. He again stresses the kinship of the two hostile families at 474.

92 lit. "as a remedy for"; but the "remedy" in this case must be prophylactic rather than curative, for bloodshed, unlike hurtful words or loss of property, once it has occurred is beyond any remedy.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἐκ τῶνδε τοίνυν, ἴσθι, μηχανὴ καλή—

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

λέξον τίν' αὐδὴν τήνδε γηρυθεῖσ' ἔσῃ.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

εἰ μή τι πιστὸν τῷδ' ὑποστήσει στόλῳ—

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

τί σοι περαίνει μηχανὴ ξυζωμάτων;

ΧΟΡΟΣ

νέοις πίναξι βρέτεα κοσμῆσαι τάδε.

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

αἰνιγματῶδες τοὔπος· ἀλλ' ἁπλῶς φράσον.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἐκ τῶνδ' ὅπως τάχιστ' ἀπάγξασθαι θεῶν.

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

ἤκουσα μαστικτῆρα καρδίας λόγον.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ξυνῆκας· ὠμμάτωσα γὰρ σαφέστερον.

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

†καὶ μὴν πολλαχῇ† γε δυσπάλαιστα πράγματα,
κακῶν δὲ πλῆθος ποταμὸς ὣς ἐπέρχεται·
ἄτης δ' ἄβυσσον πέλαγος οὐ μάλ' εὔπορον

459 καλή *m*: καλεῖ M.
464 ἀλλ' ἁπλῶς Abresch: ἀλλὰ πῶσ M.
466 μαστικτῆρα anon. (cf. Σ δηκτικόν): μακιστῆρα M.

CHORUS

Well, these, I tell you, give us a fine method—

PELASGUS

Say what words these are that you are going to utter.

CHORUS

If you don't make a promise to our band that we can rely on—

PELASGUS

What is your girdle-method meant to achieve?

CHORUS

To adorn these images with votive tablets of a novel kind.

PELASGUS

Those words are a riddle. Speak plainly.

CHORUS

With all speed—to hang ourselves from these gods.

PELASGUS

I hear words that flay my heart.

CHORUS

You understand! I have opened your eyes to see more clearly.

PELASGUS

Truly this business is hard to wrestle with, in all sorts of ways; a host of troubles is coming at me like a river in spate. This is a bottomless sea of ruin, certainly not easily cross-

---

468 καὶ μὴν πολλαχῆι M: ἦ πολλαχῇ Wilamowitz: Sulzberger posited a lacuna (taking καὶ μὴν as the beginning of one line, πολλαχῇ as second word of the next).

τόδ' εἰσβέβηκα, κοὐδαμοῦ λιμὴν κακῶν.
εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὑμῖν μὴ τόδ' ἐκπράξω χρέος,
μίασμ' ἔλεξας οὐχ ὑπερτοξεύσιμον·
εἰ δ' αὖθ' ὁμαίμοις παισὶν Αἰγύπτου σέθεν
σταθεὶς πρὸ τειχέων διὰ μάχης ἥξω τέλους,
πῶς οὐχὶ τἀνάλωμα γίγνεται πικρόν,
ἄνδρας γυναικῶν οὕνεχ' αἱμάξαι πέδον;
ὅμως δ' ἀνάγκη Ζηνὸς αἰδεῖσθαι κότον
ἱκτῆρος· ὕψιστος γὰρ ἐν βροτοῖς φόβος.
σὺ μέν, πάτερ γεραιὲ τῶνδε παρθένων,
< >
κλάδους τε τούτους αἰψ' ἐν ἀγκάλαις λαβὼν
βωμοὺς ἐπ' ἄλλους δαιμόνων ἐγχωρίων
θές, ὡς ἴδωσι τῆσδ' ἀφίξεως τέκμαρ
πάντες πολῖται, μηδ' ἀπορριφθῇ λόγος
ἐμοῦ κάτ'· ἀρχῆς γὰρ φιλαίτιος λεώς.
καὶ γὰρ τάχ' ἄν τις οἰκτίσας ἰδὼν τάδε
ὕβριν μὲν ἐχθήρειεν ἄρσενος στόλου,
ὑμῖν δ' ἂν εἴη δῆμος εὐμενέστερος·
τοῖς ἥσσοσιν γὰρ πᾶς τις εὐνοίας φέρει.

ΔΑΝΑΟΣ

πολλῶν τάδ' ἡμῖν ἐστιν ἠξιωμένα,

471 εἰσβέβηκα (ἐσβ-) Spanheim: ἐσέβηκα M.
474 ὁμαίμοις Turnebus: ὁμαίμους M.
480/1 lacuna posited by Butler.
485 ἐμοῦ κάτ'· ἀρχῆς Headlam: ἐμοῦ· καταρχῆς (κατ' ἀρχῆς *m*) M.
486 οἰκτίσας ἰδὼν Linwood: οἶκτος εἰσιδὼν M.

able, that I have stepped into, and nowhere is there a safe haven from trouble. If I do not perform this thing for you, you have threatened me with a pollution terrible beyond compare;[93] if, on the other hand, I take my stand in front of the walls and try the issue of battle with your kinsmen the sons of Aegyptus, it will indeed be a bitter loss that the ground should be stained with men's blood on account of women. All the same, there is no alternative but to respect the wrath of Zeus god of suppliants; the fear of him is the greatest fear a mortal can have. You now, aged father of these maidens, <approach the altar,>[94] quickly take these boughs in your arms, and place them on the other altars of our native gods, so that all the citizens may see the evidence of this supplication and no hostile words be thrown out against me—for the people are very inclined to criticize their rulers. Perhaps those who see them will take pity and detest the outrageous behaviour of that band of males, and the people be more friendly towards you. Everyone has kindly feelings for the underdog.

DANAUS, with the boughs from the altar in his arms, descends from the mound.

DANAUS

We value this very highly, to have secured a respectful,

93 lit. "not overshootable". The pollution is that which the Danaids' dead bodies would bring upon the shrine; see R. Parker, *Miasma* (Oxford, 1983) 32–42, 183–5.

94 Friis Johansen and Whittle offer this as a possible sense for the missing line; an alternative is "go to the city" (Wilamowitz).

αἰδοῖον †εὖ ῥέοντα† πρόξενον λαβεῖν·
ὀπάονας δὲ φράστοράς τ' ἐγχωρίων
ξύμπεμψον, ὡς ἂν τῶν πολισσούχων θεῶν
βωμοὺς προνάους καὶ †πολισσούχων† ἕδρας
εὕρωμεν, ἀσφάλεια δ' ᾗ δι' ἄστεως
στείχουσι. μορφῆς δ' οὐχ ὁμόστολος φύσις·
Νεῖλος φὰρ οὐχ ὅμοιον Ἰνάχῳ γένος
τρέφει. φύλαξαι μὴ θράσος τέκῃ φοβον·
καὶ δὴ φίλον τις ἔκταν' ἀγνοίας ὕπο.

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

στείχοιτ' ἄν, ἄνδρες· εὖ γὰρ ὁ ξένος λέγει.
ἡγεῖσθε βωμοὺς ἀστικοὺς θεῶν θ' ἕδρας·
καὶ ξυμβολοῦσιν οὐ πολυστομεῖν χρεὼν
ναυστῆρ' ἄγοντας τόνδ' ἐφέστιον θεῶν.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

τούτῳ μὲν εἶπας, καὶ τεταγμένος κίει·
ἐγὼ δὲ πῶς δρῶ; ποῦ θράσος νεμεῖς ἐμοί;

491 εὖρ'ἐόντα M: εὖ ῥέοντα M^s: εὖ ῥέζοντα Abresch: εὑρεθέντα Porson.

491 πρόξενον Canter: προσξένον M.

494 πολισσούχων M^{pc}: πολισσούχους M^{ac}: περιστύλους Paley.

495 ἀσφάλεια δ' ᾗ Turnebus: ἀσφαλείασ δὲ M.

501 ἀστικοὺς Turnebus: ἀστίκτους M.

501 θ' Abresch: om. M.

502 ξυμβολοῦσιν Valckenaer, cf. Σ τοῖς συντυγχάνουσι: ξυμβόλοισιν M.

503 ναυστῆρ' Wecklein: ναύτην M.

504 κίει Portus: κίοι M.

<beneficent> sponsor. But please send with me some attendants and guides from among the natives, so that we can find the altars in front of the temples of the gods who dwell in the city and their < > abodes, and so that we may be safe as we walk through the city. Our form and appearance are not at all similar: the Nile does not breed a race resembling that of the Inachus.[95] Take care, in case confidence gives birth to fear.[96] People have been known to kill a friend through ignorance.[97]

PELASGUS

Go, men: what the stranger says is right. Take him to the city altars and the abodes of the gods. And you must not be talkative with those you meet while escorting this man who took sanctuary at the gods' hearth.[98]

DANAUS departs for the city, escorted by some of the soldiers.

CHORUS

You have spoken to him; he has had his instructions and is on his way. But what shall I do? How will you give me reason to be confident?

[95] The principal river of Argos. [96] i.e. if you are overconfident of my safety, and so fail to provide me with adequate protection, the result may be that I find myself in fear of my life.

[97] i.e. mistaking him for an enemy: Danaus fears the Argives may take *him* for an enemy because of his alien appearance.

[98] Plainly implying that he wants the escorts to say nothing about Danaus except that he is a suppliant—which will be obvious anyway from the boughs. Pelasgus does not wish any further information about the affair to become public until he presents it himself at the forthcoming assembly meeting.

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

κλάδους μὲν αὐτοῦ λεῖπε, σημεῖον πόνου.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

καὶ δή σφε λείπω, χειρία λόγοις σέθεν.

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

λευρὸν κατ᾽ ἄλσος νῦν ἐπιστρέφου τόδε.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

καὶ πῶς βέβηλον ἄλσος ἂν ῥύοιτό με;

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

οὗτοι πτερωτῶν ἁρπαγαῖς σ᾽ ἐκδώσομεν.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἀλλ᾽ εἰ δρακόντων δυσφρόνων ἐχθίοσιν;

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

εὔφημον εἴη τοὔπος εὐφημουμένῃ.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

οὗτοι τι θαῦμα δυσφορεῖν φόβῳ φρένας.

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

αἰεὶ †δ᾽ ἀνάκτων† ἐστὶ δεῖμ᾽ ἐξαίσιόν.

507 χειρία Valckenaer: χειρὶ καὶ M.
508 ἐπιστρέφου Robortello: ἐπιστρέφω M.
510 ἁρπαγαῖς Turnebus, σ᾽ add. Porson: ἅρπαγεσ M.
513 φρένας Bothe: φρενόσ M.
514 δ᾽ ἀνάκτων M: δ᾽ ἀνάλκτων West: δ᾽ ἀνάτων Ludwig: γυναικῶν Linwood.

PELASGUS

Leave the branches here as a symbol of your distress.

CHORUS *[laying their boughs on the altar]*

Look, I am leaving them, obedient to your words.

PELASGUS

Now move down to this level meadow.[99]

CHORUS

And how can an unconsecrated meadow protect me?

PELASGUS

We will not surrender you to be plundered by those birds of prey.

CHORUS

But what if they are more hostile than malignant serpents?

PELASGUS

May you speak good words when good words are spoken to you![100]

CHORUS

It's not surprising if my mind is distraught with fear.

PELASGUS

‹Women› are always unreasonably frightened.

[99] i.e. leave the mound and descend to the *orchestra*. I have shown in *Museum Criticum* 30–31 (1995–96) 114–7 that ἀλσος in Aeschylus (and occasionally in other poets contemporary with him) means not "grove" or "sacred enclosure" but "level expanse".

[100] i.e. "please follow my example and avoid speaking words of bad omen".

ΧΟΡΟΣ

σὺ καὶ λέγων εὔφραινε καὶ πράσσων φρένα.

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

ἀλλ᾽ οὔτι δαρὸν χρόνον ἐρημώσῃ πατρός.
ἐγὼ δὲ λαοὺς ξυγκαλῶν ἐγχωρίους
†πιετω†, τὸ κοινὸν ὡς ἂν εὐμενὲς τιθῶ·
καὶ σὸν διδάξω πατέρα ποῖα χρὴ λέγειν.
πρὸς ταῦτα μίμνε καὶ θεοὺς ἐγχωρίους
λιταῖς παραιτοῦ τῶν σ᾽ ἔρως ἔχει τυχεῖν.
ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦτα πορσυνῶν ἐλεύσομαι·
πειθὼ δ᾽ ἕποιτο καὶ τύχη πρακτήριος.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

στρ. α ἄναξ ἀνάκτων, μακάρων
μακάρτατε καὶ τελέων
τελειότατον κράτος, ὄλβιε Ζεῦ,
πιθοῦ τε καὶ γένει σῷ
ἄλευσον ἀνδρῶν ὕβριν εὖ στυγήσας·
λίμνᾳ δ᾽ ἔμβαλε πορφυροειδεῖ
τὰν μελανόζυγ᾽ ἄταν.

ἀντ. α τὸ πρὸς γυναικῶν δ᾽ ἐπιδὼν
παλαίφατον ἀμετέρου

515 *φρένα* Heath: *φρενί* M.
516 *ἐρημώσῃ* (*-σει*) *πατρός* Paley: *ἐρημώσει πατήρ* M.
518 *πιετω* M^{s} (M had omitted 518–520): *στείχω* Weil: *κίω* Zakas. 519 *ποῖα* Arsenius: *τοῖα* M^{s}
527 *πιθοῦ* Stanley: *πείθου* M.

CHORUS

Well then, put heart into us by word and action.

PELASGUS

You won't be deprived of your father for long. I am <going> to call the people of this country to assembly, so that I can make the public friendly towards you; and I shall instruct your father what he should say. In view of that, stay here and appeal in prayer to the gods of the country to gain what you desire. I will go to put these plans into action: may persuasion, and the fortune of success, go with me!

He departs for the city, accompanied by his men. The CHORUS *descend from the mound.*

CHORUS

O King of Kings, O most blest
of the blest, O power most perfect
of the perfect, Zeus giver of prosperity,
listen to us, and in thorough loathing
of those vicious men keep them away from your
descendants:
cast into the purple-coloured sea
the black ship on whose thwarts sits our ruin![101]

Look favourably on the woman's point of view,
and renew the tale told long ago

101 lit. "the black-thwarted ruin".

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527 *γένει σῷ* Lobeck: *γενέσθω* M.
531 *δ'* Wecklein, Tucker: om. M.
532–3 *ἀμετέρου γένους* Weil: *ἀμέτερον γένος* M.

γένους φιλίας προγόνου γυναικὸς
νέωσον εὔφρον' αἶνον·
γενοῦ πολυμνήστωρ, ἔφαπτορ Ἰοῦς.
Δῖαί τοι γένος εὐχόμεθ' εἶναι
γᾶς ἀπὸ τᾶσδ' ἐνοίκου.

στρ. β παλαιὸν δ' εἰς ἴχνος μετέσταν,
ματέρος ἀνθονόμους ἐπωπάς,
λειμῶνα βούχιλον, ἔνθεν Ἰὼ
οἴστρῳ ἐρεσσομένα
φεύγει ἀμαρτίνοος,
πολλὰ βροτῶν διαμειβομένα
φῦλα· †διχῇ† δ' ἀντίπορον
γαῖαν ἐν αἴσᾳ διατέμνουσα πόρον
κυματίαν ὁρίζει·

ἀντ. β ἰάπτει δ' Ἀσίδος δι' αἴας
μηλοβότου Φρυγίας διαμπάξ,
περᾷ δὲ Τεύθραντος ἄστυ Μυσῶν
Λύδιά τ' ἄγ γύαλα,
καὶ δι' ὀρῶν Κιλίκων,

535 ἔφαπτορ Askew: ἐφάπτωρ M.
536 Δῖαί Pauw: δίασ M.
537 ἐνοίκου Headlam: ἔνοικοι M.
547 δ' Ἀσίδος Turnebus: βασίδος M.
549 Μυσῶν *m*: μουσῶν M: Μυσοῦ Newman.
550 Λύδιά Turnebus, τ' ἄγ Hermann: λύγια τε M.

of your kindness to the woman you loved,
the ancestress of our race.
Toucher of Io, remember it all!
We claim to be of the race of Zeus,
springing from an inhabitant of this land.

I have come and halted on the old tracks,
the place where my mother was watched[102] as she
browsed on the flowers,
the cattle-pasture meadow, from whence Io,
driven[103] by the gadfly,
fled in frenzy,
passing through many tribes
of men; and < > she cleaved
the waves of the strait, in accordance
with destiny, and thus defined the boundary
of the land on its distant side;[104]

and she rushed through the land of Asia,
from end to end of sheep-rearing Phrygia,
and passed through the Mysian city of Teuthras[105]
up the vales of Lydia
and through the mountains of Cilicia,

[102] By Argus, cf. 303–5. [103] lit. "rowed".

[104] The strait (πόρος) across which Io swam came to be called the Βόσπορος ("Strait of the Cow") in memory of her passage, and regarded as the boundary between Europe and Asia.

[105] The city's name was Teuthrania. The only well-known Teuthras lived long after the Danaids' time, being the husband of Auge and stepfather of Telephus, her son by the Danaids' distant descendant Heracles; for the anachronism cf. the reference to "Sarpedon's sandbank" at 870.

Παμφύλων τε διορνυμένα
γᾶν, ποταμούς τ᾽ αἰενάους
καὶ βαθύπλουτον χθόνα, καὶ τὰν Ἀφροδί-
τας πολύπυρον αἶαν.

στρ. γ ἱκνεῖται δ᾽, εἰσικνουμένου βέλει
βουκόλου πτερόεντος,
Δῖον πάμβοτον ἄλσος,
λειμῶνα χιονόβοσκον, ὅντ᾽ ἐπέρχεται
Νείλου μένος
ὕδωρ τε Τυφῶ νόσοις ἄθικτον,
μαινομένα πόνοις ἀτι-
μοις ὀδύναις τε κεντροδα-
λήτισι, θυιὰς Ἥρας.

ἀντ. γ βροτοὶ δ᾽ οἳ γᾶς τότ᾽ ἦσαν ἔννομοι
χλωρῷ δείματι θυμὸν

552 τε Heath: τε γένη M.
553 γᾶν Wecklein: τὰν M.
553 τ᾽ Portus: δ᾽ M.
554 τὰν Hermann: τᾶσ M.
560–1 Νείλου . . . Τυφῶ Friis Johansen: τυφῶ . . . νείλου M.
561 τε Pauw: τὸ M.
563 κεντροδαλήτισι Erfurdt: κεντροδαλήτοις M.
566 δείματι Arsenius: δειμακτι M.

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106 In classical times the part of southern Asia Minor called Pamphylia lay well to the west of Cilicia, and Io would have come to it first; but Sophocles too (fr. 180a) applied the name Pamphylia to (part of) the later Cilicia.

speeding across the land of the Pamphylians,[106]
its ever-flowing rivers
and its deep rich soil, and the land
of Aphrodite[107] abundant in wheat.

And she arrived, while the winged cowherd
was still piercing her with its sting,
in the plain of Zeus,[108] rich in all kinds of pasture,
the snow-fed meads[109] over which flows
the might of the Nile
and the water untouched by the plagues of Typhos,[110]
maddened by undeserved sufferings
and agonies inflicted by the hurtful sting,
a maenad of Hera.[111]

And the men who then dwelt in that land
felt their hearts leap with green fear[112]

[107] Phoenicia and Palestine, famous for the worship of Astarte (equated by Greeks with Aphrodite). [108] Egypt (or perhaps, more specifically, the Nile delta), cf. 4–5.

[109] It was believed that the Nile's floods were fed by melting mountain snow; cf. Aesch. fr. 126a (300); Euripides, *Helen* 2–3; Anaxagoras 59 A 91 D-K; Herodotus 2.22.1.

[110] i.e. free from storms: Typhos, whom Zeus defeated soon after becoming ruler of the universe, was father of the storm-winds (Hesiod, *Theogony* 869–880). The mention of these calm waters recalls the Danaids' own storm-free voyage (134–7) and, by contrast, their prayer that their pursuers be overwhelmed and drowned in a tempest (30–36).

[111] i.e. driven into frenzy by Hera as bacchic maenads are by Dionysus.

[112] The pallor of intense fear was thought to be caused by a flow of bile; cf. *Cho.* 183–4, Theocritus 23.13.

πάλλοντ' ὄψιν ἀήθη,
βοτὸν †ἐσορῶντες† δυσχερὲς μειξόμβροτον,
τὰ μὲν βοός,
τὰ δ' αὖ γυναικός, τέρας δ' ἐθάμβουν.
καὶ τότε δὴ τίς ἦν ὁ θέλ-
ξας πολύπλαγκτον ἀθλίαν
οἰστροδόνητον Ἰώ;

στρ. δ διʼ αἰῶνος κρέων ἀπαύστου
<Ζεὺς >·
βίᾳ δ' ἀπημαντοσθενεῖ
καὶ θείαις ἐπιπνοίαις
παύεται, δακρύων δ' ἀπο-
στάζει πένθιμον αἰδῶ.
λαβοῦσα δ' ἔρμα Δῖον ἀψευδεῖ λόγῳ
γείνατο παῖδ' ἀμεμφῆ,

ἀντ. δ διʼ αἰῶνος μακροῦ πάνολβον·
ἔνθεν πᾶσα βοᾷ χθών,

568 ἐσορῶντες M (from Σ 567 ὁρῶντες): βλέποντες Paley: δρακόντες Rose.
569 τὰ Paley: τὰν M.
570 τὰ *m*, Hermann: τὰν M.
571 τότε Stephanus: τόδε M.
574 διʼ Burges: ζεὺσ M.
575 lacuna posited by Canter: <Ζεύς νιν χειρὶ κατέσχεν> Murray: <Ζεὺς κακῶν νιν ἔλυσεν> Mazon.
576 ἀπημαντοσθενεῖ Headlam: ἀπημάντω σθένει M.

at the unaccustomed sight,
beholding a half-human beast that their minds could not handle,
with some features of a cow
and some of a woman, and the monstrosity astounded them.
And who then was it who applied a healing charm
to her who had wandered so far in misery,
the gadfly-tormented Io?

It was he who rules for his eternal lifetime,
<Zeus, who restrained her with his hand>.[113]
By the force of his painless strength[114]
and by his divine breath
she was stopped,[115] and in tears she wept away
the grief of her shame.
And, receiving what can truly be called a Zeus-given burden,[116]
she bore a perfect child,

destined to unbroken good fortune through his long lifetime.
And so the whole land cried,

113 Or, with Mazon, "<Zeus, who released her from her suffering">.

114 Cf. 1067 (referring to the same action) "making force kindly".

115 Stopped, that is, from her mad rushing; the following words further imply that Zeus' touch changed her back into fully human form.

116 lit. "ballast"; for the ship metaphor cf. 541n.

"φυσιζόου γένος τόδε
Ζηνός ἐστιν ἀληθῶς."
τίς γὰρ ἂν κατέπαυσεν Ἥ-
ρας νόσους ἐπιβούλους;
Διὸς τόδ' ἔργον. καὶ τόδ' ἂν γένος λέγων
ἐξ Ἐπάφου κυρήσαις.

στρ. ε τίν' ἂν θεῶν ἐνδικωτέροισιν
κεκλοίμαν εὐλόγως ἐπ' ἔργοις;
‹αὐτὸς ὁ› πατὴρ φυτουργὸς αὐτόχειρ ἄναξ,
γένους παλαιόφρων μέγας
τέκτων, τὸ πᾶν μῆχαρ, οὔριος Ζεύς.

ἀντ. ε ὑπ' ἀρχᾶς δ' οὔτινος θοάζων
τὸ μεῖον κρεισσόνων κρατύνει·
οὔτινος ἄνωθεν ἡμένου σέβει κράτος,
πάρεστι δ' ἔργον ὡς ἔπος
σπεῦσαι. τί τῶνδ' οὐ Διὸς φέρει φρήν;

584 φυσιζόου Schütz: φυσίζοον M.
584 τόδε Porson: τὸ δὴ M.
592 ‹αὐτὸς ὁ› πατὴρ Σ: πατὴρ M.
597 κράτος Heath: κάτω M.
599 σπεῦσαι. τί τῶνδ' οὐ Διὸς . . . ; Keck: σπεῦσαί τι τῶν δούλιοσ . . . . M.

"Truly this is the offspring
of Zeus, the begetter of life!"[117]
Who else could have put a stop
to the sufferings caused by Hera's plotting?
It was the act of Zeus. And if you say that our race
springs from Epaphus, you will hit the mark.

On what god could I appropriately call
on account of actions that give me a juster claim?
The Lord and Father himself, with his own hand, was
my engenderer,
the great, wise, ancient artificer of my race,
the all-resourceful one, Zeus who grants fair winds.[118]

He does not speed at the bidding of another,[119]
exercising power inferior to some mightier lord:
there is no one seated above him whose power he
reveres,
and he can hasten the deed as fast
as the word.[120] What of all this can the mind of Zeus not
bring to pass?

DANAUS returns from the city.

[117] Suggesting an etymological association between Ζην- (poetic oblique-case stem of Ζεύς) and ζῆν "to live".

[118] Zeus gave fair winds, literally, to speed the voyage from Egypt to Argos (134–7), and the Danaids hope he will give fair winds, figuratively, to see them safe hereafter.

[119] Cf. John Milton, *Sonnet on his Blindness* (1655), line 12.

[120] i.e. when Zeus wills something, it is "no sooner said than done"; cf. 100–3.

ΔΑΝΑΟΣ

θαρσεῖτε, παῖδες· εὖ τὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων·
δήμου δέδοκται παντελῆ ψηφίσματα.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ὦ χαῖρε, πρέσβυ, φίλτατ' ἀγγέλλων ἐμοί·
ἔνισπε δ' ἡμῖν ποῖ κεκύρωται τέλος,
δήμου κρατοῦσα χείρ θ' ὅπῃ πληθύνεται.

ΔΑΝΑΟΣ

ἔδοξεν Ἀργείοισιν, οὐ διχορρόπως,
ἀλλ' ὥστ' ἀνηβῆσαί με γηραιᾷ φρενί—
πανδημίᾳ γὰρ χερσὶ δεξιωνύμοις
ἔφριξεν αἰθὴρ τόνδε κραινόντων λόγον—
ἡμᾶς μετοικεῖν τῆσδε γῆς ἐλευθέρους
κἀρρυσιάστους ξύν τ' ἀσυλίᾳ βροτῶν,
καὶ μήτ' ἐνοίκων μήτ' ἐπηλύδων τινὰ
ἄγειν· ἐὰν δὲ προστιθῇ τὸ κάρτερον,
τὸν μὴ βοηθήσαντα τῶνδε γαμόρων
ἄτιμον εἶναι ξὺν φυγῇ δημηλάτῳ.
τοιαῦτ' ἔπειθε ῥῆσιν ἀμφ' ἡμῶν λέγων
ἄναξ Πελασγῶν, Ζηνὸς ἱκεσίου κότον

603 ἔνισπε δ' Robortello (ἔνεπε δ' *m*): ἑνόσπερ M.
603 κεκύρωται Arsenius: κεκύρτωται M.
604 χείρ θ' Dindorf, ὅπῃ Portus, πληθύνεται Blomfield: χειροπληθύεται M.
606 ἀνηβῆσαί με Musgrave, Tyrwhitt: ἂν ἡβήσαιμι M.
610 κἀρρυσ- Turnebus: καρυσ- M.
615 τοιαῦτ' Friis Johansen: τοιάνδ' M.
616 Ζηνὸς ἱκεσίου Burges: ἱκεσίου ζηνὸσ M.

DANAUS

Take courage, children: all is well so far as the natives are concerned. A most decisive decree has been passed by the people.

CHORUS

Welcome, old father; you bring me splendid news. Tell us what the final decision is that has been reached, and in what direction the majority of the people's sovereign vote[121] went.

DANAUS

The Argives have resolved, with no divided voice,[122] but in such a way that my aged heart felt young again—for the air bristled with their aptly named right hands[123] as the entire people ratified this proposal—that we shall have the right of residence in this land in freedom, with asylum and protection from seizure by any person; that no one, whether inhabitant or foreigner, may lay hands upon us; and that if force be applied, whoever among these citizens fails to come to our aid shall lose his civic rights and be driven into exile from the community. The king of the Pelasgians persuaded them to make this decision by delivering a speech about us, in which he declared how great could be the wrath of Zeus god of suppliants, who might at a future time

121 lit. "hand" (cf. 607–8).

122 i.e. the vote was unanimous (cf. *Ag.* 813–7).

123 δεξιώνυμος is doubtless a coinage modelled on εὐώνυμος "left". Friis Johansen and Whittle regard the -ώνυμος element as semantically otiose, which on their own showing is "extraordinary . . . in an Aeschylean compound"; more likely it draws attention to the fact that δεξιός can mean "of good omen".

μέγαν προφωνῶν, μήποτ' εἰσόπιν χρόνου
πόλει παχύναι, ξενικὸν ἀστικόν θ' ἅμα
λέγων διπλοῦν μίασμα πρὸς πόλεως φανὲν
ἀμήχανον βόσκημα πημονῆς πέλειν.
τοιαῦτ' ἀκούων χερσὶν Ἀργεῖος λεὼς
ἔκραν' ἄνευ κλητῆρος ὣς εἶναι τάδε.
δημηγόρου δ' ἤκουσεν εὐπειθὴς στροφῆς
δῆμος Πελασγῶν, Ζεὺς δ' ἐπέκρανεν τέλος.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἄγε δή, λέξωμεν ἐπ' Ἀργείοις
εὐχὰς ἀγαθάς, ἀγαθῶν ποινάς·
Ζεὺς δ' ἐφορεύοι ξένιος ξενίου
στόματος τιμὰς ἐπ' ἀληθείας
τέρμονι †ἀμέμπτων πρὸς ἅπαντα†.

στρ. α †νῦν ὅτε καὶ†, θεοὶ

617 προφωνῶν Canter: πρόφρων ὢν M.
618 πόλει Bothe, παχύναι Robortello: πόλιν παχῦναι M.
619 πρὸς Bothe: πρὸ M.
622 ἔκραν' ἄνευ κλητῆρος Turnebus, cf. Σ ἐπέκρανεν πρὶν εἰπεῖν τὸν κήρυκα: ἔκλαναν εὐκλήτοροσ M.
623 δημηγόρου . . . στροφῆς Bothe: δημηγόρουσ . . . στροφὰσ M.
623 εὐπειθὴς Bothe: εὐπειθεὶσ Mpc: εὐπειθεῖσ Mac.
625 λέξωμεν Turnebus: λέξομεν M.
628–9 ἐπ' ἀληθείας τέρμονι West: ἐπ' αληθείαι τέρμον' M.
629 ἀμέμπτων πρὸσ ἅπαντα M: ἀμέμπτως π. ἄ. m (cf. Σ βεβαίως): πρὸς πάντας ἀμέμπτως West. 630 νῦν ὅτε καὶ M (ἀντὶ εἴποτε Σ): νῦν ἴτε καὶ Musgrave: νῦν ἄγε καὶ West.

bring it heavily to bear[124] against the city, and saying that the double pollution, in relation both to foreigners and to citizens,[125] which the city would be bringing into being, would be an irremediable breeder of grief. Hearing this, the Argive people resolved, without waiting to be called,[126] that the motion should be carried.[127] The Pelasgian people had heard and obeyed the guidance[128] of the orator, and Zeus had brought about the decisive outcome.

DANAUS goes up to the shrine and again begins to keep a lookout, this time towards the sea.

CHORUS

Come now, let us utter prayers of blessing
for the Argives, in return for their good deed;
and may Zeus god of strangers watch over
the words of our foreign lips as we honour them for
putting an end
to our wandering, ‹so that we speak in a manner no one
will censure›.[129]

Now ‹come›, you gods

124 lit. "fatten it". 125 Since the Danaids are ἀστόξενοι (356), Argos if it wronged them would be offending both against its duty to ξένοι and against its duty to its own citizens.

126 i.e. "before the herald could say 'all those in favour raise their hands'" (scholia).

127 lit. "that these things should be so".

128 lit. "turning"; the people are compared to a horse turning in obedience to the rein.

129 Adopting West's emendation (*Studies* 149), but departing slightly from his construal of it.

631 Διογενεῖς, κλύοιτ᾽ εὐκ-
ταῖα γένει χεούσας·
μήποτε πυρίφατον τάνδε Πελασγίαν
635 τὸν ἄκορον βοᾶς κτίσαι μάχλον Ἄρη,
τὸν ἀρότοις θερίζοντα βροτοὺς ἐν ἄλλοις,
οὕνεκ᾽ ᾤκτισαν ἡμᾶς,
640 ψῆφον δ᾽ εὔφρον᾽ ἔθεντο,
αἰδοῦνται δ᾽ ἱκέτας Διός,
ποίμναν τάνδ᾽ ἀμέγαρτον·

ἀντ. α οὐδὲ μετ᾽ ἀρσένων
ψῆφον ἔθεντ᾽ ἀτιμώ-
645 σαντες ἔριν γυναικῶν,
Δῖον ἐπιδόμενοι πράκτορ᾽ ἀείσκοπον
δυσπολέμητον, ὃν τίς ἂν δόμος ἔχων
650 ἐπ᾽ ὀρόφων ἰαίνοιτο; βαρὺς δ᾽ ἐφίζει.
ἄζονται γὰρ ὁμαίμους
Ζηνὸς ἵκτορας ἀγνοῦ·
τοιγάρτοι καθαροῖσι βω-
655 μοῖς θεοὺς ἀρέσονται.

634 *τάνδε* Lachmann: *τὰν* M.
634 Πελασγίαν Klausen: Πελασγίαν *πόλιν* M.
635 *ἄκορον* Schwerdt, *βοᾶς* Kruse: *ἀχόρον βοᾶν* M.
638 *ἐν ἄλλοις* M: *ἐν ἄλλων* Kraus: *ἐναίμοις* Lachmann.
647 *πράκτορ᾽ ἀείσκοπον* Kruse (*π. ἀεὶ σκοπὸν* Martin): *πράκτοράτε σκοπὸν* M.
649 *τίς* Burges: *οὔτις* M.
649–650 *ἔχων . . . ἰαίνοιτο* Weil: *ἔχοι . . . μιαίνοντα* M.

of the family of Zeus, pray hear me
as I pour forth my wishes for my kin:[130]
never may lustful Ares, insatiable of appetite for the
cries of battle,
who reaps harvests of men in fields that are not arable,[131]
cause this Pelasgian land to be wasted by fire—
because they took pity on us
and cast a kindly vote,
and because they respect the suppliants of Zeus,
this pitiable flock;

nor did they cast their vote
with the males, and so spurn
the struggle of the women—
they heeded Zeus's avenger,[132] ever on the watch,
hard to combat; what house would be pleased
to have him on its roof? where he perches, he brings
grievous doom—
for they revere their kinsfolk
who were suppliants of holy Zeus;
therefore they will be propitiating the gods
at pure altars.

130 i.e. the Argives.

131 lit. "in other fields" (sc. than those in which ordinary harvests are reaped); alternative suggestions are "in fields ploughed by others" (i.e. by the fathers of the dead) (Kraus) and "in bloody fields" (Lachmann).

132 Evidently the Ἀλάστωρ of 415; here he is pictured as a bird who perches on the roof of a house and brings a curse on it.

στρ. β τοιγὰρ ὑποσκίων
ἐκ στομάτων ποτάσ-
θω φιλότιμος εὐχά·
μήποτε λοιμὸς ἀνδρῶν
660 τάνδε πόλιν κενώσαι,
μηδ' ἐπιχωρίοις ‹∪–›
πτώμασιν αἱματίσαι πέδον γᾶς·
ἦβας δ' ἄνθος ἄδρεπτον
εἴη, μηδ' Ἀφροδίτας
665 εὐνάτωρ βροτολοιγὸς Ἄ-
ρης κέρσειεν ἄωτον.

ἀντ. β καὶ γεραροῖσι πρεσ-
βυτοδόκοι †γεμόν-
των† θυμέλαι φλεόντων·
670 τὼς πόλις εὖ νέμοιτο,
Ζῆνα μέγαν σεβόντων,
τὸν ξένιον δ' ὑπερτάτως,
ὃς πολιῷ νόμῳ αἶσαν ὀρθοῖ.
τίκτεσθαι δ' ἐφόρους γᾶς
675 ἄλλους εὐχόμεθ' αἰεί,

660 *τάνδε* Faehse: *τῶνδε* M.
661 ‹*δόρυ*› suppl. Mazon, ‹*ἔρις*› Heath.
662 *γᾶς* Porson: *τᾶσ* M.
668–9 *γεμόντων* M (gloss on *φλεόντων*): *θυηλαῖς* Schwerdt.
669 *φλεόντων* Hermann: *φλεγόντων* M.
670 *πόλις* Robortello, Turnebus: *πόλεισ* M.
671 *Ζῆνα m, μέγαν* Ald.: *ζῆν ἀμέγα* M.

So from our shaded lips[133]
let words of prayer fly
with love and honour.
Never may plague empty
this city of men,
nor may ‹war› bloody
the soil of the land with its fallen natives;
may the flower of its youth
not be plucked, and may Aphrodite's
man-destroying bedfellow Ares
not mow down their finest.

And for their elders
may the sacred hearths where they gather[134]
teem ‹with offerings›:
so may the city be well governed,
because they honour great Zeus—
most especially in his capacity as god of strangers—
Zeus who guides destiny aright according to age-old law.
We pray that there may always be born
new guardians of the land,

133 Probably referring to their veils (cf. 122).

134 The reference is to altars at the city's *βουλευτήριον* where its council of elders would meet.

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672 *ὑπερτάτως* Σ: *ὑπέρτατον* M.
673 *ὃς* Turnebus: *ὡσ* M.

Ἄρτεμιν δ' ἑκάταν γυναι-
κῶν λόχους ἐφορεύειν.

στρ. γ μηδέ τις ἀνδροκμὴς λοιγὸς ἐπελθέτω
τάνδε πόλιν δαΐζων,
ἄχορον ἀκίθαριν δακρυογόνον Ἄρη
βίαν τ' ἔνδημον ἐξοπλίζων.
νούσων δ' ἑσμὸς ἀπ' ἀστῶν
ἴζοι κρατὸς ἀτερπής·
εὐμενὴς δ' ὁ Λύκειος ἔσ-
τω πάσᾳ νεολαίᾳ.

ἀντ. γ καρποτελῆ δέ τοι Ζεὺς ἐπικραινέτω
φέρματι γᾶν πανώρῳ·
πρόνομα δὲ βοτὰ τοῖς πολύγονα τελέθοι,
τὸ πᾶν τ' ἐκ δαιμόνων θάλοιεν.
εὔφημον δ' ἐπὶ βωμοῖς

677 λόχους Sophianus: λόγουσ M. 681 ἄχορον Auratus: ἄχοροσ M: ἄχαριν Plutarch *Mor.* 758f.
681 ἀκίθαριν Plutarch: κίθαρισ M.
683 βίαν Hermann: βοάν M^{pc} (βοήν Σ): βοᾶν M^{ac}: [. . . (..)]τᾶ Plutarch mss. 683 τ' ἔνδημον Pauw, cf. Σ ἐμφύλιον: τε δῆμον M, Plutarch. 683 ἐξοπλίζων Stanley (ἐξοπλίζουσαν Plutarch): ἔξω παίζων M. 684 δ' ἑσμὸς Turnebus: δεσμὸσ M. 686 Λύκειος Stanley: λύκιοσ M.
688 καρποτελῆ Portus: καρποτελεῖ M.
691 βοτὰ Turnebus, τοῖς Wecklein: βρότατοσ M.
693 θάλοιεν Hermann: λάθοιεν M.
694 εὔφημον Turnebus: εὐφήμοισ M.

and that Artemis Hecate[135]
may watch over the women giving birth.

And may no man-slaying destruction[136]
come upon this city and ravage it,
arming Ares the breeder of tears, with whom is no dance
and no lyre,
and intestine violence in the community.
And may the cheerless flock of sicknesses
perch far from the citizens' heads,
and may the Wolf-god[137] be kind
to all their young men.

And may Zeus make the land bring crops to perfection,
bearing them in every season;
may the best of their grazing flocks bear many young;[138]
may they, through the gods' grace, thrive in every way.
And may their singers make

[135] One of the functions of Artemis was to protect women in childbirth (cf. Euripides, *Hippolytus* 166–9). From the fifth century onwards, Hecate, originally a distinct goddess (cf. Hesiod, *Theogony* 411–452), was often identified with Artemis; the relevance of such an identification here may be that one of Hecate's roles was as a "nurturer of boys" (*κουροτρόφος*, *ibid.* 450–2).

[136] The reference is specifically to civil strife, as 683 shows.

[137] Apollo Lykeios (cf. *Seven* 146–7), who is here being begged *not* to be wolf-like towards the young Argives.

[138] With the result that, over the years, the quality of the flocks as a whole will steadily improve; cf. Plato, *Republic* 459a-b, and for the posited sense of *πρόνομος*, cf. Gregory of Nazianzus in *Patrologia Graeca* xxxvii 1538.14. See Ch. Simelidis, *Philologus* 147 (2003) 343–7 and 149 (2005) 154–5.

695 μοῦσαν θείατ᾽ ἀοιδοί,
ἀγνῶν τ᾽ ἐκ στομάτων φερέσ-
θω φήμα φιλοφόρμιγξ.

στρ. δ φυλάσσοι τ᾽ εὖ τὰ τίμι᾽ ἀστοῖς
τὸ δάμιον, τὸ πτόλιν κρατύνει,
700 προμαθὶς εὐκοινόμητις ἀρχά·
ξένοισι δ᾽ εὐξυμβόλους,
πρὶν ἐξοπλίζειν Ἄρη,
δίκας ἄτερ πημάτων διδοῖεν.

ἀντ. δ θεοὺς δ᾽ οἳ γᾶν ἔχουσιν αἰεὶ
705 τίοιεν ἐγχωρίους πατρῴαις
δαφνηφόροις βουθύτοισι τιμαῖς·
τὸ γὰρ τεκόντων σέβας,

695 μοῦσαν θείατ᾽ Hermann: μοῦσαι θεαί τ᾽ M.

698 εὖ τὰ τίμι᾽ ἀστοῖς Headlam: τ᾽ἀτιμίασ τιμὰσ M (ἀτιμίασ glossed by ἀσφαλίασ: ἀμετακίνητοι εἶεν αὐτοῖς αἱ τιμαί Σ).

700 προμαθὶς Hermann: προμηθεὺσ M (with α written over η).

706 δαφνη- Arsenius: δαφνο- M.

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139 i.e. may the sovereign people *as a collectivity* protect the rights that citizens have *as individuals*.

140 The reference is probably not to treaties (ξυμβολαί or ξύμβολα) prescribing rules for the judicial settlement of disputes between *citizens* of one state and those of another (since problems

auspicious music at their altars,
and let there rise from pure lips
a voice in amity with the lyre.

And may the people, which rules the city,
protect well the citizens' privileges,[139]
a government acting with craft and foresight for the
common good;
and to foreigners may they offer
painless justice under fair agreements[140]
before arming the god of war.

And may those who dwell in the land
always honour its native gods
with ancestral rites, carrying laurel boughs[141] and
sacrificing oxen;
for the honouring of parents

arising out of such treaties would not be particularly likely to precipitate war) but to treaties requiring disputes *between the contracting states themselves* to be submitted to arbitration (δίκας διδόναι καὶ δέχεσθαι), cf. Thucydides 1.85.2, 1.140.2, 1.144.2, 7.18.2. The Danaids' prayer is that the Argive people, acting "with foresight for the common good", will seek a peaceful solution to any interstate dispute, through arbitration if necessary, before resorting to war.

141 Laurel, though it was Apollo's sacred plant, was used in other cults too.

τρίτον τόδ' ἐν θεσμίοις
Δίκας γέγραπται μεγιστοτίμου.

ΔΑΝΑΟΣ

εὐχὰς μὲν αἰνῶ τάσδε σώφρονας, φίλαι·
ὑμεῖς δὲ μὴ τρέσητ' ἀκούσασαι πατρὸς
ἀπροσδοκήτους τούσδε καὶ νέους λόγους.
ἱκεταδόκου γὰρ τῆσδ' ἀπὸ σκοπῆς ὁρῶ
τὸ πλοῖον· εὔσημον γάρ· οὔ με λανθάνει
στολμός τε λαίφους καὶ παραρρύσεις νεὼς
καὶ πρῷρα πρόσθεν ὄμμασιν βλέπουσ' ὁδόν,
οἴακος εὐθυντῆρος ὑστάτου νεὼς
ἄγαν καλῶς κλύουσα, τὼς ἂν οὐ φίλη·
πρέπουσι δ' ἄνδρες νάιοι μελαγχίμοις
γυίοισι λευκῶν ἐκ πεπλωμάτων ἰδεῖν.
καὶ τἄλλα πλοῖα πᾶσά θ' ἡ 'πικουρία
εὔπρεπτος· αὐτὴ δ' ἡγεμὼν ὑπὸ χθόνα
στείλασα λαῖφος παγκρότως ἐρέσσεται.
ἀλλ' ἡσύχως χρὴ καὶ σεσωφρονισμένως

711 ὑμεῖς δὲ μὴ τρέσητ' Turnebus: ἡμεῖσ δὲ μῆτρεσ ἀεὶ M. 715 στολμός Weil: στολμοί M.
717 εὐθυντῆροσ Turnebus: συνουτῆροσ M.
720 γυίοισι *m*: γύοισι M.

142 The reference is to a set of fundamental ethical principles sometimes called the "unwritten laws", nearly always three in number; these are variously formulated in our sources, but in Aeschylus (cf. *Eum.* 269–272, 538–548), perhaps under Eleusinian influence (see my edition of Aristophanes' *Frogs* [Warminster,

is written third
in the statutes of Justice the highly-honoured.[142]

DANAUS

I praise you, dear daughters, for these wise prayers. Now do not be afraid when you hear from your father this unexpected and untoward news. From this lookout post, which received you as suppliants, I can see the boat. It is unmistakable. I cannot fail to observe the ship's sailing-gear,[143] its side-screens,[144] and the prow which scans the way ahead with eyes,[145] obeying all too well the guiding helm at the very stern of the ship, as if unfriendly to us;[146] and the men on board the ship are conspicuously visible, their black limbs set against white garments. Now the other ships and all the assisting forces are plain to see, and the leading vessel herself is close inshore, has furled her sail and is rowing in with all oars. Now you must look at this matter in a calm

1996], comm. on 145–153), they prescribe the giving of due honour to gods (704–6), to *ξένοι* (701–3), and to parents. The Danaids have prayed that the Argives may give due honour to *ξένοι* and to the gods, but they do not pray for them to respect their parents, and here apparently they are explaining why not—because this is only the third of the "unwritten laws" (cf. *BICS* 24 [1977] 75–76).

143 Apparently a periphrasis for "sail", from a distance the ship's most conspicuous feature.

144 For the protection of the crew, especially from enemy missiles; see Morrison and Williams, *Greek Oared Ships* 110–14.

145 Greek warships regularly had large eyes painted on their port and starboard bows.

146 Possessed of senses (it "sees" the way ahead and, literally, "hears" the helm) and in purposeful, well-guided motion, the ship seems like a living being, and almost as hostile to Danaus and his family as the men it bears.

πρὸς πρᾶγμ᾽ ὁρώσας τῶνδε μὴ ἀμελεῖν θεῶν.
ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἀρωγοὺς ξυνδίκους θ᾽ ἥξω λαβών·
ἴσως γὰρ ἂν κῆρύξ τις ἢ πρέσβη μόλοι,
ἄγειν θέλοντες, ῥυσίων ἐφάπτορες.
ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲν ἔσται τῶνδε· μὴ τρέσητέ νιν.
ὅμως δ᾽ ἄμεινον, εἰ βραδύνοιμεν βοῇ,
ἀλκῆς λαθέσθαι τῆσδε μηδαμῶς ποτε.
θάρσει· χρόνῳ τοι κυρίᾳ τ᾽ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ
θεοὺς ἀτίζων τις βροτῶν δώσει δίκην.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

στρ. α πάτερ, φοβοῦμαι, νῆες ὡς ὠκύπτεροι
ἥκουσι· μῆκος δ᾽ οὐδὲν ἐν μέσῳ χρόνου.
περίφοβόν μ᾽ ἔχει τάρβος, ἐτητύμως
πολυδρόμου φυγᾶς ὄφελος εἴ τί μοι·
παροίχομαι, πάτερ, δείματι.

ΔΑΝΑΟΣ

ἐπεὶ τελεία ψῆφος Ἀργείων, τέκνα,
θάρσει· μαχοῦνται περὶ σέθεν, σάφ᾽ οἶδ᾽ ἐγώ.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἀντ. α ἐξῶλές ἐστι μάργον Αἰγύπτου γένος
μάχης τ᾽ ἄπληστον· καὶ λέγω πρὸς εἰδότα.

726 θ᾽ ἥξω Turnebus: θήξω M.
727 ἂν Burges: ἢ M.
729 τρέσητε M^s: τρέσαιτε M.
730 δ᾽ Geel: om. M.
732 θάρσει Turnebus: θαρσεῖτε M.
740 ἐγώ *m*: ἐγών M.

and disciplined way, and not forget these gods.[147] I will come back with helpers and defenders, since perhaps some herald or embassy may come here, wanting to seize their booty and take you away. Nothing will come of that—don't be afraid of them; but all the same it's best, in case we should be slow in calling for help, at all costs never to forget your protection here.[148] Have courage: sooner or later, you know, on the destined day, any mortal who shows contempt for the gods will pay the penalty.

CHORUS

Father, I'm afraid, because the swift-winged ships have come, and there is hardly any time remaining.[149]

Terrified fear grips me: has my fleeing
so great a distance really done me any good?
Father, I am beside myself with fright!

DANAUS

Take courage, children; remember, the vote of the Argives was decisive. They will fight for you, I know it for sure.

CHORUS

The crazed family of Aegyptus are abominable, their appetite for battle insatiable. And I am speaking to one who knows that.

147 The "Assembled Gods" of the shrine.

148 i.e. the sanctuary offered by the shrine.

149 lit. "no length of time in between", i.e. between the present moment and the time when we may be attacked.

δορυπαγεῖς δ' ἔχοντες κυανώπιδας
νῆας ἔπλευσαν ὧδ' ἐπικότῳ τάχει
πολεῖ μελαγχίμῳ ξὺν στρατῷ.

ΔΑΝΑΟΣ

πολλοὺς δέ γ' εὑρήσουσιν ἐν μεσημβρινῷ
θάλπει βραχίον' εὖ κατερρινωμένους.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

στρ. β μόνην δὲ μὴ πρόλειπε, λίσσομαι, πάτερ·
γυνὴ μονωθεῖσ' οὐδέν· οὐκ ἔνεστ' Ἄρης.
οὐλόφρονες δὲ καὶ δολιομήτιδες,
δυσάγνοις φρεσίν, κόρακες ὥστε, βω-
μῶν ἀλέγοντες οὐδέν.

ΔΑΝΑΟΣ

καλῶς ἂν ἡμῖν ξυμφέροι ταῦτ', ὦ τέκνα,
εἰ σοί τε καὶ θεοῖσιν ἐχθαιροίατο.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἀντ. β οὐ μὴ τριαίνας τάσδε καὶ θεῶν σέβη
δείσαντες ἡμῶν χεῖρ' ἀπόσχωνται, πάτερ.
περίφρονες δ' ἄγαν, ἀνιερῷ μένει
μεμαργωμένοι, κυνοθρασεῖς, θεῶν
οὐδὲν ἐπαΐοντες.

744 ἐπικότῳ τάχει Weil: ἐπεὶ (ἐπὶ *m*) τάχει κότῳ M.
745 μελαγχίμῳ Turnebus: μελαχείμω M.
746 μεσημβρινῷ Bothe: μεσημβρίαι M.
747 θάλπει βραχίον' *m*: θάλπτει βραχεῖον M.
747 κατερρινωμένους H. Voss: κατερρινημένουσ M.
748 πρόλειπε *m*: πρόλιπε M.

With timber-built, black-eyed ships
they have sailed here in wrathful haste,
with a great black army!

DANAUS

Well, they'll find plenty of men here whose arms have been made good and leathery by the midday heat!

CHORUS

Don't leave me alone, I beg you, father! A woman on her own is nothing: there is no fight in her.

They're murderous, full of cunning deceit;
in their impure minds, like ravens,
they care nothing for the sanctity of altars.[150]

DANAUS

That would be very helpful to us, children, if they should make enemies of the gods as well as you.

CHORUS

Father, they certainly won't keep their hands off us for fear of these tridents or the awesomeness of the gods.

They're so arrogant, maddened
by their unholy rage, as shameless as dogs,
turning a deaf ear to the gods.

150 Ravens and other carrion-feeding birds (notably kites, cf. Aristophanes, *Birds* 892) were notoriously liable to ignore the sanctity of altars by stealing sacrificial meat.

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750 *οὐλόφρονες* Valckenaer: *δουλόφρονεσ* M.
750 *δολιομήτιδες* Askew: *δολομήτιδεσ* M.

ΔΑΝΑΟΣ

ἀλλ᾽ ἔστι φήμη τοὺς λύκους κρείσσους κυνῶν
εἶναι· βύβλου δὲ καρπὸς οὐ κρατεῖ στάχυν.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

†ὡς καὶ ματαίων† ἀνοσίων τε κνωδάλων
ὀργὰς ἐχόντων χρὴ φυλάσσεσθαι κράτος.

ΔΑΝΑΟΣ

οὔτοι ταχεῖα ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ στολὴ
οὔθ᾽ ὅρμος, οὐδὲ πεισμάτων σωτηρία
εἰς γῆν ἐνεγκεῖν, οὐδ᾽ ἐν ἀγκυρουχίαις
θαρσοῦσι ναῶν ποιμένες παραυτίκα,
ἄλλως τε καὶ μολόντες ἀλίμενον χθόνα
εἰς νύκτ᾽ ἀποστείχοντος ἡλίου· φιλεῖ
ὠδῖνα τίκτειν νὺξ κυβερνήτῃ σοφῷ.
οὕτω γένοιτ᾽ ἂν οὐδ᾽ ἂν ἔκβασις στρατοῦ
καλή, πρὶν ὅρμῳ ναῦς θρασυνθῆναι. σὺ δὲ
φρόνει μὲν ὡς ταρβοῦσα μὴ ἀμελεῖν θεῶν·
‹ἐγὼ δὲ ›

762 ὡσ καὶ ματαίων M: ὡς αἱματηρῶν Page: perh. ‹ἀλλ᾽› ὡς ματαίων. 763 ὀργὰς ἐχόντων Dindorf: ἔχοντεσ ὀργὰσ M. 764 ταχεῖα Σ, στολὴ Turnebus: ταχεῖαι . . . στολῆι M. 765 οὔθ᾽ West (οὔτε Σ): οὐδ᾽ M.

765 πεισμάτων Arsenius, σωτηρία Turnebus: cf. Σ ἀντὶ π(ε)ίσματα σωτήρια: πισμάτων σωτηρίου M.

768 ἄλλως τε Arsenius: ἀλλ᾽ ὥστε M.

770 τίκτειν Turnebus: τίκτει M. 772 ναῦς Σ: ναῦν M.

773/4 lacuna posited by Hartung; perh. e.g. ‹ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἀπ᾽ ἄστεως ὡς τάχισθ᾽ ἥξω πάλιν›.

DANAUS

Well, rumour has it that wolves[151] are stronger than dogs; and papyrus fruit[152] can't beat ears of corn.

CHORUS

Their tempers are like those of wanton, impious beasts: we must take care they do not get control of us!

DANAUS

You can't send out a naval expedition quickly, and you can't bring one in quickly either. Nor is it a speedy job running stern cables ashore to keep the ship safe,[153] and their custodians[154] don't immediately feel secure when they've dropped anchor, especially when they've come to a harbourless coast as the sun is departing and night approaching—night tends to breed travail in the mind of an expert helmsman. So even to land an army[155] would not be a good idea until the fleet was secure in its anchorage. But as you're afraid, be sure not to forget the gods; <I will come back from town as soon as possible> having secured assis-

151 The wolf was an emblem of Argos, and appears regularly on its coins (see C. M. Kraay, *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* [London, 1976] 96 and pl. 16 no. 287).

152 It was actually the root and lower stalk of the papyrus plant that (some) Egyptians used as food (Herodotus 2.92.5); the implication in this sentence that they did not eat cereal foods is of course absurd.

153 Danaus assumes that the ships will cast anchor in water of sufficient depth and then moor themselves with long cables from the stern (cf. e.g. *Iliad* 1.436, *Odyssey* 10.95–96). See Morrison and Williams, *Greek Oared Ships* 56–57.

154 lit. "shepherds".

155 sc. much less to launch an attack.

πράξας ἀρωγήν· ἄγγελον δ' οὐ μέμψεται
πόλις γέρονθ', ἡβῶντα δ' εὐγλώσσῳ φρενί.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

στρ. α ἰὼ γᾶ βοῦνι, πάνδικον σέβας,
τί πεισόμεσθα; ποῖ φύγωμεν Ἀπίας
χθονός, κελαινὸν εἴ τι κεῦθός ἐστί που;
μέλας γενοίμαν καπνὸς
νέφεσσι γειτονῶν Διός,
τὸ πᾶν δ' ἄφαντος ἀμπετὴς ἀιδνὸς ὡς
κόνις ἄτερ πτερύγων ὀλοίμαν.

ἀντ. α ἀλυκτὸν δ' οὐκέτ' ἂν πέλοι κακόν·
κελαινόχρων δὲ πάλλεται φίλον κέαρ.
πατρὸς σκοπαὶ δέ μ' εἶλον· οἴχομαι φόβῳ.
θέλοιμι δ' ἂν μορσίμων
βρόχου τυχεῖν ἐν σαργάναις
πρὶν ἄνδρ' ἀπευκτὸν τῷδε χριμφθῆναι χροΐ·
προπὰρ θανούσας δ' Ἀΐδας ἀνάσσοι.

776 *βοῦνι* Dindorf, *πάνδικον* Paley (cf. Σ *ἦν δικαίως πάντες τιμῶσιν*): *βουνῖτι ἔνδικον* M.
782 *ἀιδνὸς* Kirchhoff: *αισδὸσ* M: *ἄιστος* Haupt.
784 *ἀλυκτὸν* Hermann: *ἄφυκτον* M.
784 *κακόν* Schütz: *κέαρ* M (cf. 785).
785 *κελαινό-* Lachmann: *μελανο-* M. 785 *-χρων . . . φίλον κέαρ* Schwerdt: *-χρωσ . . . μου καρδία* M.
786 *πατρὸς σκοπαὶ* Victorius: *πατροσκοπαι* M.
787 *μορσίμων* Schütz: *μορσίμου* M. 790 *τῷδε* (*τῶδε*) Arsenius, *χριμφθῆναι m*: *τῶδ'ἐχριμφθῆν* M.
790 *χροΐ m*: *χροῖν* M.

tance. The city will find no fault with a messenger who is old in years, but young in his eloquent intellect.

DANAUS departs for the city.

CHORUS

O hilly land that we rightly revere,[156]
what is going to happen to us? Where in the land of Apia
can we flee in the hope that there is somewhere a dark
hiding-place?
O to become black smoke
up among[157] the clouds of Zeus,
to fly up without wings, invisible, imperceptible,
like dust, and end my existence altogether!

The evil will no longer be escapable;
my heart within is shaken, its flesh turned black.[158]
My father's lookout has trapped me—I am perishing
with terror!
I would wish to meet my fate
in a plaited noose
before an abominated man could touch this flesh!
Before that, may I die and Hades become my lord!

156 Because it is the land of our ancestress Io (alluded to by *βοῦ-νι*, cf. 117). There is an unstated implication that just as the land has a right to the Danaids' reverence, *they* have a right to have their prayers to it heeded.

157 lit. "being neighbour to".

158 The heart and other internal organs could be spoken of as turning black when affected by powerful emotions (because blood flowed inwards from the surface regions which went pale?) Cf. *Pers.* 114–5, *Cho.* 413–4.

στρ. β πόθεν δέ μοι γένοιτ' ἂν αἰθέρος θρόνος,
πρὸς ᾧ χιὼν ὑδρηλὰ γίγνεται νέφη,
ἢ λισσὰς αἰγίλιψ ἀπρόσ-
δεικτος οἰόφρων κρεμὰς
γυπιὰς πέτρα, βαθὺ
πτῶμα μαρτυροῦσά μοι,
πρὶν δαΐκτορος βίᾳ
καρδίας γάμου κυρῆσαι;

ἀντ. β κυσὶν δ' ἔπειθ' ἕλωρα κἀπιχωρίοις
ὄρνισι δεῖπνον οὐκ ἀναίνομαι πέλειν·
ὁ γὰρ θανὼν ἐλευθεροῦ-
ται φιλαιάκτων κακῶν.
ἐλθέτω μόρος, πρὸ κοί-
τας γαμηλίου τυχών.
ἀμφυγᾶς τίν' ἔτι πόρον
τέμνω γάμων λυτῆρα;

στρ. γ ἰύζετ' ὀμφάν, οὐράνια
λιτανὰ θεοῖσι καὶ ‹θεαῖς›—
τέλεα δὲ πῶς πελόμενά μοι;

793 ᾧ Portus: ὃν M.
793 χιὼν ὑδρηλὰ γίγνεται νέφη Porson: νέφη δ' ὑδρηλὰ γίγνεται χιὼν M.
800 κυσὶν Arsenius: κύσειν M.
801 δεῖπνον *m*: δείπναν M.
802 ὁ γὰρ θανὼν Hartung: τὸ γὰρ θανεῖν M.
804 ἐλθέτω Pauw: ἐλθέτω ἐλθέτω M.

Where can I find a seat in the sky,
near where the moist clouds turn into snow,
or a slippery crag, where no goat climbs,
lonely, overhanging, impossible to point out,[159]
the haunt of vultures, which could testify
to my long fall,
before, against the determination of my heart,
I meet a killer marriage?

Thereafter, I do not refuse to become
prey for the dogs, a dinner for the native birds:
for he who dies is freed
from evils that cry to be bewailed.
Let death come and get me
before the marriage-bed does!
What path of escape can I yet cleave
that will release me from wedlock?

Raise a crying voice, send words of prayer
to heaven, to the gods and goddesses—
but how can they be fulfilled for me?

[159] i.e. invisible from any place ordinarily trodden by human feet.

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806 *ἀμφυγᾶς* Weil, *τίν'* Headlam: *τίν'ἀμφ'αυτᾶσ* M.
807 *λυτήρα* Pauw: *καὶ λυτήρια* M.
808 *ἰύζετ'* Page: *ἴυζεν δ'* M.
808 *οὐράνια* Friis Johansen: *οὐρανία μέλη* M.
809 *<θεαῖς>* add. Bamberger.
810 after *δὲ* (*δέ*) M has *μοι*: del. Burney.

†λύσιμα μάχιμα δ'† ἔπιδε, πάτερ,
βίαια μὴ φίλοις ὁρῶν
ὄμμασιν, ἐνδίκως· σεβί-
ζου δ' ἱκέτας σέθεν, γαιάοχε παγκρατὲς Ζεῦ.

ἀντ. γ γένος γὰρ Αἰγύπτιον ὕβρει
δύσφορον ‹∪ –› ἀρσενογενεῖ·
μετά με δρόμοισι διόμενοι
φυγάδα μάταισι πολυθρόοις
βίαια δίζηνται λαβεῖν.
σὸν δ' ἐπίπαν ζυγὸν ταλάν-
του· τί δ' ἄνευ σέθεν θνατοῖσι τέλειόν ἐστιν;

811 λύσιμα·μάχιμα δ' M: λύσιμά μ' ἄχιμά τ' Wilamowitz (cf. Σ ἀτάραχα): λύσιμά μ' ἄχειμ' Weil: λυσίγαμ' (λυσίκακ' West, cf. Σ λύσιμα τῶν κακῶν) ἄχειμ' Headlam.
812 φίλοις Lachmann: φιλεῖσ M. 813 ἐνδίκως Peiper: ἐνδίκοισ M. 817 ὕβρει Bothe: ὕβριν M.
818 ‹ἔπεισ'› add. Friis Johansen, ‹ἄγαν› Page.
818 ἀρσενογενεῖ Page: ἀρσενογενές M.
823 τί δ' ἄνευ Robortello, Turnebus: πιδανευ M.

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160 It is tolerably certain, on the evidence of the scholia, that the now corrupt text here had to do with "release" and "freedom from troubles", but its exact wording and syntax cannot be restored. 161 The addressee is Zeus, not Danaus.

162 In which Zeus decides the fate of mortals (as in *Iliad* 22.209–212 and in Aeschylus' *Weighing of Souls*).

163 It is probably they who speak (or rather sing) first, not the Danaids; see West, *Studies* 152–4. 164 Greek ἰόφ, according to the scholia an onomatopoeic expression of disgust.

< >[160] Look on us, Father,[161]
viewing violence with unfriendly eyes,
as is right: respect
your suppliants, almighty Zeus, possessor of the earth!

For the offspring of Aegyptus <are advancing on us,>
intolerable in their male wantonness!
I fled, but they run after me in pursuit
and in their clamorous lust
seek to seize me by force.
The beam of the balance[162] is yours, all yours:
what in mortals' destinies is decided without you?

A band of EGYPTIANS *rush in, led by a* HERALD. *The text is badly defective, but the* EGYPTIANS' *first utterance*[163] *appears to be a cry of triumph*—ho ho ho, ha ha ha! *(825)—on finding their prey; from the following lines there survive the words* I am the seizer *(826),* on the ship *(826a) and* on the land *(826b), after which there was probably another line in which they declared their intention of taking the Danaids to their ship. The* CHORUS *reply* Before that, seizer, may you wear away—yugh![164] *(827). Of their next line (828) there survive two letters which may be part of the word for* eye *and, after a gap, the phrase* going down straight away; *possibly they are telling the Egyptians to get out of their sight and go straight back down to their ship. They then (829) say something which the scholia interpret as "No longer as having heard from my father, but seeing with my own eyes, I shout"; the line in M seems to have begun with now and its end can be plausibly restored as* with knowledge I raise a cry. *The next line (830) is syntactically incoherent, but must mean something like* I see this is a

ΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΟΙ

825 ὅ ὅ ὅ, ἄ ἄ ἄ·
826 ὅδε μάρπτις [
826a ναίος [
826b γάιος [
< >

ΧΟΡΟΣ

827 τῶν πρό, μάρπτι, κάμνοις, ἰόφ·
ὅμ[ ] αὖθι καββὰς < >.
νυ[ν εἰ]δυῖ᾽ ἰὰν ἀμφαίνω·
830 ὁρῶ †τάδε φροίμια πράξαν† πόνων βιαίων †ἐμῶν†.
ἠέ· ἠέ·
βαῖνε φυγᾷ πρὸς ἀλκάν.
< > βλοσυρόφρονα χλιδᾷ,
δύσφορα ναὶ κὰν γᾷ
835 γάι᾽ ἄναξ, προτάσσου.

ΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΟΙ

σοῦσθε σοῦσθ᾽ ἐπὶ βᾶριν ὅπως ποδῶν.
οὔκουν οὔκουν τιλμοὶ τιλμοὶ καὶ στιγμοί,

825–9 An ancestor of M was here badly damaged or partly illegible.

826 μάρπτις Turnebus: μάρπτυς *t*: μάρπισ M.

827 πρό, μάρπτι Victorius, cf. Σ πρότερον θάνοις, ὦ μάρπτι, πρὶν ἡμᾶς συλλαβεῖν: πρόμαρπτι M.

828 ὅμ[ματος ἐκτὸς] e.g. West.

828 καββὰς Stanley: κάκκασ M: then perh. e.g. ‹ἴθι›.

prelude to violent sufferings. *From here, although the text remains very corrupt until 902, it becomes possible again to offer some sort of continuous translation.*

CHORUS

Aaah-eh! Aaah-eh!
Go, fly to protection!
They flee to the shrine.
‹These› grim-hearted ‹beasts› are showing their
wantonness,
intolerable at sea or on land!
Lord of the land,[165] array yourself in our defence!

EGYPTIANS

Off, off, to boat, fast as your feet!
[*On receiving no response*]
Then won't, then won't you have hair torn, hair torn, and
tattoos,

[165] Perhaps more likely to be addressed to Zeus (cf. 811–824, 885, 892) than to the absent Pelasgus (not otherwise mentioned until 905).

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829 *νῦ*[*ν* Paley, *εἰ*]*δυῖ᾽ ἰὰν* West: *νυ*[ ]*δυϊαν βοᾶν* M: *οὐκέτι παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀκούσασα, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτόπτης γενομένη βοῶ* Σ.

830 *τάδε φροίμια πράξαν . . . ἐμῶν* M: perh. e.g. {*τάδε*} *φροίμιον πράξαντας . . . ἐμοί.*

833 lacuna posited by Wilamowitz: ‹*κνώδαλα γὰρ τάδε*› e.g. West.

835 *γάϊ᾽* Ellis: *γᾶι* M: *γᾶς* Peiper.

πολυαίμων φόνιος ἀποκοπὰ κρατός;
σοῦσθε σοῦσθ' ὀλόμεναι ἐπ' ἀμᾶδα.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

στρ. α εἴθ' ἀνὰ πολύρυτον
ἁλμάεντα πόρον
δεσποσίῳ ξὺν ὕβρει
γομφοδέτῳ τε δόρει διώλου.

ΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΟΙ

δίαιμον ἔσω σ' ἐπ' ἀμᾶδα.
†ησυδουπια τάπιτα†
κελεύω βοᾶς μεθέσθαι· ‹∪–›
ἶχαρ, φρενί γ' ἄσαν.
†ἰὼ ἰὸν† ‹ ›
λεῖφ' ἕδρανα, κἰ' εἰς δόρυ,
ἀτίετ' ἀνὰ πόλιν εὐσεβῶν.

842 ὀλόμεναι Turnebus: ὀλύμεναι M.
842 ἐπ' ἀμᾶδα West (ἐπ' ἀμάδα Schütz): ὀλόμεν' (del. Robortello) ἐπαμίδα M.
843 πολύρυτον Wellauer: πολύρρυτον M.
846 δόρει Hermann: δορὶ M.
847 δίαιμον Weil, ἔσω σ' Paley (cf. Σ ἡμαγμένην σε καθίζω): αἵμονεσώσ M.
847 ἐπ' ἀμᾶδα West (ἐπ' ἀμάδα Schütz): ἐπάμιδα M.
848 ησυδουπια τάπιτα M: perh. ἦ (Donaldson) σὺ δουπιᾷς; (H. Voss) ἀπιτέα (Weil).
849 βοᾶς Rogers: βία M.
849 ‹σβέσον› suppl. West.
850 γ' ἄσαν West: τ' ἄταν M.
852 ἕδρανα Robortello: ἵδρανα M.

very bloody gory chopping off head?[166]
Off, off, to barge,[167] damn you!

CHORUS

If only, in the many eddies
of the briny sea you voyaged over,
together with your arrogant masters
and your bolt-bound timbers,[168] you had perished!

EGYPTIANS

You'll be running with blood when I seat you on the
barge.
Want a thump, do you? You must be off.[169]
I tell you, give over your shouting; <quench>
your longing—it's a mental sickness.
< >[170]
Leave where you're sitting, go to the ship,
you who are not respected in a city of pious men![171]

166 These three lines, the first surviving full lines sung by the Egyptians, are the only place where it is hard to resist the conclusion that Aeschylus gave them broken Greek to sing.

167 It is not known what kind of vessel an ἀμάς was, but since the word is attested only here and in *Proteus* (fr. 214) it was presumably an Egyptian type.

168 i.e. your ship.

169 Rendering a very tentative text (emendations of Voss and Weil).

170 This line (required for strophic responsion) is lost except for *ἰὼ ἰὼν*, of which nothing can be made.

171 The Egyptians (profess to) believe that right is on their side (cf. 916–920) and therefore that the Argives, if they are pious, will not resist them on the Danaids' behalf.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἀντ. α μήποτε πάλιν ἴδοις
ἀλφεσίβοιον ὕδωρ,
ἔνθεν ἀεξόμενον
ζώφυτον αἷμα βροτοῖσι θάλλει.

ΑΙΓΥΠΤΙΟΙ

ἄρειος ἐγὼ βαθύχαος
†βαθρείας βαθρείας γέρον†.
σὺ δ' ἐν ναὶ ναὶ βάσῃ τάχα,
θέλεος ἀθέλεος.
βία βιᾶται πολλά· φροῦδα <– ∪ –>.
βᾶτε †βαθυμιτροκακὰ παθῶν
ὀλόμεναι παλάμαις†.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

στρ. β αἰαῖ, αἰαῖ·
εἰ γὰρ δυσπαλάμως ὄλοιο
δι' ἁλίρρυτον ἄλσος

853 ἀτίετ' (ἀτιέτ') ἀνὰ *m*, cf. Σ μήποτε μετέχων τῆς τιμῆς ἐν τῇ πόλει: ἀτιέτανα M.
854 ἴδοις Maas (εἴδοις Scaliger): ειδοι M.
856 ἀεξόμενον Portus, Scaliger: δεξόμενον M.
859 ἄρειος . . . βαθύχαος West: ἄγειοσ . . . βαθυχαῖοσ M.
860 βαθρείας βαθρείας γέρον M: ἀρχέτας (perh. rather δεσπότας?) βαρειᾶν χερῶν West. 861 δ' ἐν Burges: δὲ M.
863 βία βιᾶται πολλά· West: βίαι βίαι τε πολλᾶι M.
863 <δὴ τὰ σά> e.g. suppl. West.
864 βᾶτε Stanley: βάτεαι M. 864–5 so M: βαθυμί-τρων κακὰ | ὀλόμεν' ἀπάλαμα παρθένων e.g. West.
867 εἰ Heath: καὶ M.

CHORUS

May you never again see
the water[172] that rears cattle,
the water that causes the blood that propagates life[173]
to increase and flourish in men.

EGYPTIANS

I am a warrior of long pedigree,
possessor of powerful hands.[174]
You will quickly board the ship, the ship,
willing or unwilling!
Force compels much. <Your hopes> are gone.
Go, <you damnable, helpless wretches
of girls with broad girdles!>[175]

CHORUS

Ah, ah!
I wish you perish helplessly,
across the flowing expanse of the salty sea,

[172] Of the Nile.

[173] The scholiast's note is clumsily expressed, but his source appears to have correctly interpreted this passage to mean that Nile water promotes male fertility. If so, it may be our earliest source for the belief that semen was a derivative of blood. This belief is otherwise first attested in Diogenes of Apollonia (fr. 6 D-K), later becoming part of Aristotle's theory of reproduction (*De Generatione Animalium* 726b3–9), but it may well have much older roots, of the nature of folklore rather than philosophy.

[174] Rendering West's emendation.

[175] Rendering the tentative suggestions of West (many widely differing restorations have been proposed).

κατὰ Σαρπηδόνιον χῶμα πολύψαμμον ἀλαθεὶς
Συρίαισιν αὔραις.

ΚΗΡΥΞ

βαίνειν κελεύω βᾶριν εἰς ἀμφίστροφον
ὅσον τάχιστα· μηδέ τις σχολαζέτω.
ὁλκὴ γὰρ οὔτοι πλόκαμον ουδάμ᾽ ἄζεται.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἀντ. β οἰοῖ, οἰοῖ,
λύμας εἴθ᾽ ὑπὸ γᾷ σὺ λάσκοις·
†περιχαμπτὰ βρυάζεις
ὃς ἐρωτᾶς† ὁ μέγας Πότμος ὑβρίζοντ᾽ ἀποτρέψει-
εν ἄητον ὕβριν.

870 πολύψαμμον Burges: πολυψάμαθον M.
871 Συρίαισιν Badham: εὐρείαισ εἰν M.
872–5 and 882–4 interchanged by Oberdick.
882 ἀμφίστροφον *t*, cf. Σ: ἀντίστροφον M.
883 ὅσον *m*: ὅρον M.
883 μηδέ τις Turnebus: μηδέτι M.
876 οἰοῖ οἰοῖ Hermann: οἳ οἳ οἳ οἳ οἳ M.
877 εἴθ᾽ ὑπὸ γᾷ σὺ λάσκοις Friis Johansen: ισὺπρογασυ-λάσκει (-οι sscr.) M.
878 περιχαμπτὰ M: περίχαυνα Enger (nothing better).
878–9 βρυάζεισ ὃσ ἐρωτᾶσ M: βρυάζει σὸς ἔρως· ἀλλ᾽ Newman.
880 Πότμος ὑβρίζοντ᾽ West: νεῖλοσ ὑβρίζοντα σε M.
880–1 ἀποτρέψειεν ἄητον (ἄατον) Friis Johansen: ἀπὸ τρέ-ψει ἔναιστον M.

drifting before the winds blowing from Syria
on to the piled sands of Sarpedon's bank![176]

HERALD

I order you to go with all speed to the curved[177] boat; let no one make any delay, or you will be dragged by the hair without the least scruple.[178]

CHORUS

Oh, oh!
I wish you would be uttering your insults beneath the earth!
‹Your desire is› swelling
‹with great vanity›.[179] May great Destiny avert the monstrous outrage
that you are committing![180]

176 At the mouth of the river Calycadnus in Cilicia; the coast at that point faces nearly due east, towards northern Syria, so a wind "blowing from Syria" would drive the ship on to a lee shore. The ship is imagined to have sailed all along the south coast of Asia Minor; it would have continued to Egypt either along the Syrian coast or via Cyprus.

177 The epithet ἀμφίστροφον is adapted from that used in the Homeric phrase νέος ἀμφιελίσσης.

178 lit. "for dragging will certainly not in any way show reverence for your locks".

179 Rendering the conjectures of Enger and Newman (but the text here is beyond confident restoration).

180 A person's πότμος was his "personal destiny or lot, *especially as manifested in [his] death*" (West, *Studies* 163—emphasis mine); the Danaids' hope is thus that their enemy may be destroyed before he can wreak his evil will.

ΚΗΡΥΞ

ἴυζε καὶ λάκαζε καὶ κάλει θεούς·
Αἰγύπτιον γὰρ βᾶριν οὐχ ὑπερθορῇ.
†πικρότερ᾽ ἀχέων οἰζύος ὄνομ᾽ ἔχων†

ΧΟΡΟΣ

στρ. γ οἰοῖ, πάτερ, βρέτεος ἄρος
ματᾷ· ‹βίᾳ δέ› μ᾽ ἄλαδ᾽ ἄγει
ἄραχνος ὡς βάδην,
ὄναρ ὄναρ μέλαν.
ὀτοτοτοῖ·
μᾶ Γᾶ, μᾶ Γᾶ, †βοᾶν†
φοβερὸν ἀπότρεπε·
ὦ πᾶ, Γᾶς παῖ, Ζεῦ.

{874} ἴυζε καὶ βόα M: del. Hermann.

875 perh. e.g. πικρότερον ἀχήσεις τάχ᾽ οἰζύος νόμον (πικρότερον Emperius, ἀχήσεις West, οἰζύος νόμον Burges).

885 βρέτεος ἄρος Abresch, cf. Σ ἡ τῶν βρετέων ἐπικουρία: βρότεος ἄρος *t*: βροτιοσαροσ M.

886 ματᾷ Bamberger, ‹βίᾳ δέ› West, μ᾽ ἄλαδ᾽ ἄγει Musgrave: αταιμαλδαάγει M (ἄτα *t*: ἀτᾷ ^{i}Σ).

890, 900 βοᾶν M: βίαν Rogers.

892, 902 πᾶ H. Voss (after Pauw), cf. Σ ὦ πάτερ: βᾶ M.

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181 It would in fact be perfectly easy, and an obvious move, for the Danaids to avoid the hated marriage by such a leap to a watery grave—*unless* they are to be chained or tied up during the voyage. Are the Egyptians who have come with the Herald perhaps holding ropes or fetters, which they brandish when the Herald speaks these words?

HERALD

Cry and howl and call on gods—you won't jump out of the Egyptian boat.[181] You'll soon be uttering an even bitterer song of anguish.[182]

The HERALD *and his men begin to advance steadily towards the shrine.*

CHORUS

Oh, oh, Father,[183] the protection of your image
is failing me! He is taking me by force to the sea,
coming step by step, like a spider—
a dream, a black dream!
Ototototoi!
Mother Earth, Mother Earth, avert
the fearsome ‹assailant›![184]
O Father Zeus, child of Earth![185]

182 The transmitted text of this sentence is meaningless, and has not been convincingly emended, but the words "bitterer" (*πικρότερ-*) and "of anguish" (*οἰζύος*) are fairly secure.

183 The context, especially the singular *βρέτεος*, indicates strongly that this is addressed to Zeus, not Danaus.

184 This supplement is intended only to give an idea of the approximate sense.

185 Rhea, the mother of Zeus, was identified with the Asiatic mother-goddess Cybele, who was in turn sometimes identified with Earth (e.g. Sophocles, *Philoctetes* 391–4). In the ordinary divine genealogy, Earth was mother of Cronus and grandmother of Zeus.

ΚΗΡΥΞ

οὗτοι φοβοῦμαι δαίμονας τοὺς ἐνθάδε·
οὐ γάρ μ᾽ ἔθρεψαν, οὐδὲ γηράσω τροφῇ.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἀντ. γ μαιμᾷ πέλας δίπους ὄφις·
ἔχιδνα δ᾽ ὡς με [
τί ποτ᾽ ἔν[
δάκος ἀχ[
ὀτοτοτοτοῖ·
μᾶ Γᾶ, μᾶ Γᾶ, †βοᾶν†
φοβερὸν ἀπότρεπε·
ὦ πᾶ, Γᾶς παῖ, Ζεῦ.

ΚΗΡΥΞ

εἰ μή τις εἰς ναῦν εἶσιν αἰνέσας τάδε,
λακὶς χιτῶνος ἔργον οὐ κατοικτιεῖ.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

στρ. δ ἰὼ πόλεως ἀγοὶ πρόμοι, δάμναμαι.

ΚΗΡΥΞ

ἕλξειν ἔοιχ᾽ ὑμᾶς ἐπισπάσας κόμης,
ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἀκούετ᾽ ὀξὺ τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων.

894 γηράσω West: γήρασαν M.

896–8 M's ancestor was damaged or partly illegible, cf. 825–9: ἔχιδνα δ᾽ ὡς με [προσβλέπει.] τί ποτ᾽ ἔν[ανθ᾽ ὁρῶ] δάκος; ἄχ[ος μ᾽ ἔχει] e.g. West. 905 πρόμοι Portus: πρόμνοι M.

906–7 and 909–910 interchanged by Heath (905 and 908 by Wilamowitz). 909 ἐπισπάσας Pierson: ἀπο σπάσασ M.

910 οὐκ ἀκούετ᾽ ὀξὺ Porson: οὐ κακοῦ ἔξυ M.

HERALD

I do not fear the divinities of this country. They did not rear me to manhood, nor will it be by their nurture that I reach old age.

CHORUS

He is raging close to me, the two-footed snake;
like a viper he <stares at> me.
What noxious beast <do I see
before me? I am in the grip of> agony.[186]
Ototototoi!
Mother Earth, Mother Earth, avert
the fearsome <assailant>!
O Father Zeus, child of Earth!

HERALD

If you don't accept your fate and go to the ship, your finely worked clothes will be ripped without mercy.[187]
The HERALD *and his men approach closer still.*

CHORUS *[calling out in the direction of the city]*
Help, noble leaders of the city, I'm being overpowered![188]

HERALD

It looks as though I'll be dragging you off by the hair, since you aren't hearing my orders very sharply.

[186] West's supplements have been used to provide a consecutive sense.

[187] lit. "tearing will not pity the work of your (inner) garment" (cf. 884).

[188] We may be meant to suppose that the Danaids have seen or heard the approach of the rescuing Argive force. It does not appear that the Herald or his men ever actually lay hands on them (cf. 925).

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἀντ. δ 908 διωλόμεσθ᾽· ἄεπτ᾽, ἄναξ, πάσχομεν.

ΚΗΡΥΞ

906 πολλοὺς ἄνακτας, παῖδας Αἰγύπτου, τάχα
907 ὄψεσθε· θαρσεῖτ᾽, οὐκ ἐρεῖτ᾽ ἀναρχίαν.

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

911 οὗτος, τί ποιεῖς; ἐκ ποίου φρονήματος
ἀνδρῶν Πελασγῶν τήνδ᾽ ἀτιμάζεις χθόνα;
ἀλλ᾽ ἦ γυναικῶν εἰς πόλιν δοκεῖς μολεῖν;
κάρβανος ὢν Ἕλλησιν ἐγχλίεις ἄγαν
915 καὶ πόλλ᾽ ἁμαρτὼν οὐδὲν ὤρθωσαι φρενί.

ΚΗΡΥΞ

τί δ᾽ ἡμπλάκηται τῶνδ᾽ ἐμοὶ δίκης ἄτερ;

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

ξένος μὲν εἶναι πρῶτον οὐκ ἐπίστασαι.

ΚΗΡΥΞ

πῶς δ᾽ οὐχί; τἄμ᾽ ὀλωλοθ᾽ εὑρίσκων ἄγω.

908 *-μεσθ᾽· ἄεπτ᾽, ἄναξ* Ahrens: *-μεσθα ἐπτάναξ* M.
907 *θαρσεῖτ᾽, οὐκ ἐρεῖτ᾽ ἀναρχίαν* Robortello: *θάρσει τοῦ χερεῖ ταναρχίαν* M.
914 *ὢν* Turnebus: *δ᾽ ὢν* M.
915 *ὤρθωσαι* Whittle (cf. Σ *εἰς ὀρθὴν ἦλθες*), *φρενί m*: *ὤρθωσα φρενεὶ* M.
918 *τἄμ᾽ ὀλωλόθ᾽ . . . ἄγω* Porson: *τ᾽ἀπολολόθ᾽ . . . ἐγώ* M.

CHORUS

We're done for! My lord,[189] we're being treated unspeakably!

HERALD

You'll soon be seeing plenty of lords—the sons of Aegyptus. Don't worry, you won't be complaining about a lack of authority!

Enter PELASGUS, *from the city, with armed men.*

PELASGUS

Here, you, what are you doing? What's your idea in insulting this land of Pelasgian men? Do you really think you've come to a city of women? For a barbarian you are showing an unduly arrogant attitude towards Greeks; you have made a great mistake, and your mind has gone far astray.

HERALD

In what respect have I erred in doing this, or acted without right?

PELASGUS

In the first place, you do not know how an alien should `behave.

HERALD

What do you mean? I am finding and taking my own lost property.

189 Probably addressed to the approaching Pelasgus.

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

ποίοισιν εἰπὼν προξένοις ἐγχωρίοις;

ΚΗΡΥΞ

Ἑρμῆ, μεγίστῳ προξένων, μαστηρίῳ.

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

θεοῖσιν εἰπὼν τοὺς θεοὺς οὐδὲν σέβῃ.

ΚΗΡΥΞ

τοὺς ἀμφὶ Νείλου δαίμονας σεβίζομαι.

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

οἱ δ' ἐνθάδ' οὐδέν, ὡς ἐγὼ σέθεν κλύω.

ΚΗΡΥΞ

ἄγοιμ' ἄν, εἴ τις τάσδε μὴ 'ξαιρήσεται.

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

κλαίοις ἄν, εἰ ψαύσειας, οὐ μάλ' εἰς μακράν.

ΚΗΡΥΞ

ἤκουσα· τοὔπος δ' οὐδαμῶς φιλόξενον.

919 *προξένοις* Victorius: *προσξένοισ* M.
920 *προξένων* Wilamowitz: *προξένω* M.
923 *κλύω m*: *κάτω* M.
925 *οὐ* Robortello: *οὐδὲ* M.
926 δ' Headlam: om. M.

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190 A foreigner, claiming that property or persons currently in Argos were his and ought to be surrendered to him, should not take the law into his own hands but should approach an appropriate Argive *πρόξενος*, who would negotiate or litigate on his behalf.

PELASGUS

What local sponsor have you spoken to?[190]

HERALD

To the greatest of all sponsors—Hermes the Searcher.[191]

PELASGUS

You may have spoken to a god, but you show no respect for the gods.

HERALD

I honour the gods who live by the Nile.

PELASGUS

And those of this land are nothing—that's what I'm hearing from you.

HERALD

I shall take these women, unless someone formally asserts they are free.[192]

PELASGUS

If you should lay a finger on them, you'll howl—and soon.

HERALD

I hear what you say; it's far from hospitable.

[191] μαστήριος is not known to have been (though it may have been) a cult-title of Hermes, but the Herald's meaning is anyway clear: as a herald, under Hermes' protection, he claims the right to search for and take "his property" wherever it may be.

[192] A reference to the procedure of ἐξαίρεσις (or ἀφαίρεσις) εἰς ἐλευθερίαν, whereby if A was attempting to seize B, claiming that B was his slave (cf. 918 "my own lost property"), a third party could prevent the seizure (pending a trial of the issue) by asserting that B was in fact free; cf. Isocrates 17.14, Lysias 23.9–12.

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

οὐ γὰρ ξενοῦμαι τοὺς θεῶν συλήτορας.

ΚΗΡΥΞ

λέγοιμ᾽ ἂν ἐλθὼν παισὶν Αἰγύπτου τάδε.

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

ἀβουκόλητον τοῦτ᾽ ἐμῷ φρονήματι.

ΚΗΡΥΞ

930 ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἂν εἰδὼς ἐννέπω σαφέστερον—
καὶ γὰρ πρέπει κήρυκ᾽ ἀπαγγέλλειν τορῶς
ἕκαστα—πῶς φῶ πρὸς τίνος τ᾽ ἀφαιρεθεὶς
ἥκειν γυναικῶν αὐτανέψιον στόλον;
οὗτοι δικάζει ταῦτα μαρτύρων ὕπο
935 Ἄρης, τὸ νεῖκος δ᾽ οὐκ ἐν ἀργύρου λαβῇ
ἔλυσεν, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ γίγνεται πάρος
πεσήματ᾽ ἀνδρῶν κἀπολακτισμοὶ βίου.

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

τί σοι λέγειν χρὴ τοὔνομ᾽; ἐν χρόνῳ μαθὼν
εἴσῃ σύ τ᾽ αὐτὸς χοἱ ξυνέμποροι σέθεν.
940 ταύτας δ᾽ ἑκούσας μὲν κατ᾽ εὔνοιαν φρενῶν
ἄγοις ἄν, εἴπερ εὐσεβὴς πίθοι λόγος·
< >
τοιάδε δημόπρακτος ἐκ πόλεως μία

928 λέγοιμ᾽ Heath: λέγοισ M.
931 ἀπαγγέλλειν *m*: ἀπαγγελεῖν M.
939 εἴσῃ σύ τ᾽ αὐτὸς χοἱ Bothe: εισθιγαυτοσχοιϊ M (γ᾽ αὐτὸσ χ᾽οἱ γρM^{s}).

PELASGUS

I don't extend hospitality to those who rob the gods.

HERALD

I shall go and report this to the sons of Aegyptus.

PELASGUS

That does not cause my mind any concern.

HERALD

Well, so that I can speak to them with more definite knowledge—for it is right that a herald should bring back a full and clear report—when I go back without this band of women who are their close cousins, by whom and by what right should I say I was deprived of possession of them? Ares will be the judge of this matter, and not on the basis of witnesses' evidence; he does not settle quarrels by a payment of silver—no, before that many men must fall to the ground and end their lives in convulsions.[193]

PELASGUS

Why need I tell you my name? You will learn it and know it in time, you and your fellow-travellers. You may take these women so long as they consent with friendly heart, if pious words of yours should persuade them; ‹but you may not take them against their will›. That is the unanimous vote that has been passed and enacted by the people of the city,

193 lit. "there are many fallings of men and kickings-away of life".

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941 λόγος Turnebus: λόγοισ M.
941/2 lacuna posited by Hartung.

ψῆφος κέκρανται, μήποτ' ἐκδοῦναι βίᾳ
στόλον γυναικῶν. τῶνδ' ἐφήλωται τόρῳ
γόμφος διαμπάξ, ὡς μένειν ἀραρότως.
ταῦτ' οὐ πίναξίν ἐστιν ἐγγεγραμμένα
οὐδ' ἐν πτυχαῖς βύβλων κατεσφραγισμένα,
σαφῆ δ' ἀκούεις ἐξ ἐλευθεροστόμου
γλώσσης. κομίζου δ' ὡς τάχιστ' ἐξ ὀμμάτων.

ΚΗΡΥΞ

σοὶ μὲν τόδ' ἡδύ, πόλεμον αἵρεσθαι νέον·
εἴη δὲ νίκη καὶ κράτος τοῖς ἄρσεσιν.

ΠΕΛΑΣΓΟΣ

ἀλλ' ἄρσενάς τοι τῆσδε γῆς οἰκήτορας
εὑρήσετ', οὐ πίνοντας ἐκ κριθῶν μέθυ.
ὑμεῖς δὲ πᾶσαι ξὺν φίλοις ὀπάοσιν
θράσος λαβοῦσαι στείχετ' εὐερκῆ πόλιν
πύργων βαθείᾳ μηχανῇ κεκλῃμένην.
καὶ δώματ' ἐστὶ πολλὰ μὲν τὰ δήμια,
ἔνθ' ἔστιν ὑμῖν εὐτύκους ναίειν δόμους
πολλῶν μετ' ἄλλων. εἰ δέ τις μείζων χάρις,

944 τῶνδ' ἐφήλωται τόρως Turnebus: τῶνδε φιλωταὶ τορῶ M.
950 σοὶ μὲν τόδ' ἡδύ Hermann: ἴσθι μὲν τάδ' ἤδη M.
950 αἵρεσθαι Porson: ἐρεισθε (ει corrected from ι) M.
951 κράτος Nauck: κράτη M.
959 ἔνθ' ἔστιν ὑμῖν Weil: εὐθυμεῖν ἔστιν M.
959 εὐτύκους Porson: ἐντυχούση M.
959 δόμους Turnebus: δόμοισ M.

never to surrender this band of women by force. This decision has been nailed down with a nail that has pierced right through, so that it stays fixed.[194] These words are not written on tablets, nor sealed up in a folded sheet of papyrus: you hear them plainly from the lips and tongue of a free man. Now get out of my sight at once.

HERALD

You take pleasure in provoking an outbreak of war. May victory and mastery go to the males!

PELASGUS *[as the HERALD and his men depart]*

Well, I tell you, you'll find that the inhabitants of this land are masculine all right—they don't drink barleycorn brew![195] [*To the CHORUS*] Now, all of you, take courage and go, with a friendly escort, to our well-fortified city, enclosed by high, well-crafted walls. There is plenty of public housing, where you can live in well-prepared accommodation with many others; or, if it pleases you better, you may

194 This may refer to the sanctions attached to the decree (612–4).

195 Egyptians drank beer (ζῦθος) made from barley. There may be an obscene undertone to Pelasgus' gibe; see *Museum Criticum* 25–28 (1990–3) 59–64. My student Jane Elliott, who lived in Greece for many years, informs me that many Greeks still regard beer, in contrast with wine, as a drink for women or the effeminate.

πάρεστιν οἰκεῖν καὶ μονορρύθμους δόμους·
δεδωμάτωμαι δ' οὐδ' ἐγὼ σμικρᾷ χερί.
τούτων τὰ λῷστα καὶ τὰ θυμηδέστατα,
πάρεστι, λωτίσασθε. προστάτης δ' ἐγὼ
ἀστοί τε πάντες, ὥνπερ ἥδε κραίνεται
ψῆφος. τί τῶνδε κυριωτέρους μένεις;

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἀλλ' ἀντ' ἀγαθῶν ἀγαθοῖσι βρύοις,
δῖε Πελασγῶν.
πέμψον δὲ πρόφρων δεῦρ' ἡμέτερον
πατέρ' εὐθαρσῆ Δαναόν, πρόνοον
καὶ βούλαρχον· τοῦ γὰρ προτέρα
μῆτις, ὅπου χρὴ δώματα ναίειν
ξύν τ' εὐκλείᾳ καὶ ἀμηνίτῳ
βάξει λαῶν τῶν ἐγχώρων·

961 *μονορρύθμους m*: *μονορύθμουσ* M.
958 transposed by Burges to follow 961.
963 λωτίσασθε Canter: λωτίσασθαι M.
975–6 transposed by West to precede 972.
976 *τῶν ἐγχώρων* Hermann: *ἐν χώρωι* M.

196 i.e. in accommodation reserved for you alone (rather than being shared "with many others"). Without Burges' transposition, neither the audience nor the Danaids would be clear how many and what options were being offered for them to choose between; in fact there are just two (cf. 1009–11)—non-exclusive accommodation in public dwellings, or exclusive accommodation in the palace or another building owned by the king. No doubt we will discover, later in the trilogy, that Danaus has chosen the latter,

also live in separate dwellings,[196] since I myself too am housed on no mean scale. Choose from these options whatever is best and pleases you most. I am your patron,[197] as are all the citizens who have made and enacted this decree. Why need you wait for anyone with more authority than these?

CHORUS

In return for these blessings may you teem with
blessings,
glorious leader of the Pelasgians!
But be so kind as to send here
our father Danaus, feeling confident,[198] to take
forethought
and form a plan. He should first
consider wisely where we should reside
so as to be well reputed, and spoken of
without anger, by the native population:

which will minimize contact between his daughters and ordinary Argives and, in due course, facilitate the wedding-night murders. See P. Sandin, *Eranos* 100 (2002) 150–2 (though he takes a different view on the textual issue).

197 The Danaids are μέτοικοι (609, 994). At Athens a metic was required to nominate some citizen as his προστάτης (he could be prosecuted for failing to do so); the legal functions of the προστάτης are not clear, but he would no doubt normally in practice befriend the metic and help him in any business which a citizen could handle more effectively than a foreigner. The Danaids will be in the unique position of having the king and the entire citizen body as their προστάται.

198 Possibly a hint that Danaus should be sent with an escort (cf. 954–5).

κεἰ τόπος εὔφρων, πᾶς τις ἐπειπεῖν
ψόγον ἀλλοθρόοις
εὔτυκος. εἴη δὲ τὰ λῷστα.
<

>

{τάσσεσθε, φίλαι δμωΐδες, οὕτως
ὡς ἐφ' ἑκάστῃ διεκλήρωσεν
Δαναὸς θεραποντίδα φερνήν.}

ΔΑΝΑΟΣ

ὦ παῖδες, Ἀργείοισιν εὔχεσθαι χρεὼν
θύειν τε λείβειν θ', ὡς θεοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις,
σπονδάς, ἐπεὶ σωτῆρες οὐ διχορρόπως.

972 κεἰ Schwerdt: καὶ M.
974/7 lacuna after 974 posited by Hermann.
{977–9} del. Reinkens.

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199 In other words: no country, however welcoming it tries to be to refugees, is free from xenophobia, which can be activated by almost any (real or fancied) misdemeanour by, or special favours conferred on, the incomers.

200 See my discussion in B. Zimmermann ed. *Griechisch-römische Komödie und Tragödie* (Stuttgart, 1995) 120–1 and n.46 (also M. Ewans, *Aischylos: Suppliants and Other Dramas* [London, 1996] 218–9), modifying more drastic proposals by O. P. Taplin, *The Stagecraft of Aeschylus* (Oxford, 1977) 222–238. Perhaps the producer transferred the lines from *Danaids*, where the Danaids are (or have been) married and could well have been assigned servants to take with them to their new homes, as brides often were.

even if a country is friendly, everyone
is ready to speak ill
of people of alien language.[199] May all be for the best!

PELASGUS departs for the city with some of his men, leaving the remainder to guard and escort the Danaids. The transmitted text here continues:

> Arrange yourselves, dear maids, in the way
> in which Danaus allotted you to each of us
> as a dowry in the form of a servant.

There is, however, no other clear evidence in the text for the existence of these maidservants: they can hardly have only just come on stage (where could they have been before?), and had they been with their mistresses from the start, one would have expected some notice to be taken of them, especially by Pelasgus. Moreover, Pelasgus is still apparently being addressed in 973–4 and can hardly leave the scene before then, and it would be clumsy (and unparalleled) to have Danaus arrive from the same direction almost immediately afterwards. It is therefore likely that the maids, and the three lines addressed to them, were added to the play by a later producer, perhaps in place of a short choral song.[200] The CHORUS probably descended from the mound before singing the song.

Enter DANAUS from the city, with an armed escort.

DANAUS

Children, we ought to pray, sacrifice and pour libation to the Argives as if to the Olympian gods, for they have unquestionably been our saviours. They gave a hearing to my

καί μου τὰ μὲν πραχθέντα πρὸς τοὺς ἐγγενεῖς
φίλως, πικρῶς δ' ἤκουσαν αὐτανεψίοις·
ἐμοὶ δ' ὀπαδοὺς τούσδε καὶ δορυσσόους
ἔταξαν, ὡς ἔχοιμι τίμιον γέρας,
καὶ μήτ' ἀέλπτως δορικανεῖ μόρῳ θανὼν
λάθοιμι, χώρᾳ δ' ἄχθος αἰείζων πέλοι,
<μήτ' . . .
. . . τιμιωτέραν ἐμοῦ>.
τοιῶνδε τυγχάνοντας ἐκ πρυμνῆς φρενὸς
χάριν σέβεσθαι †τιμιωτέραν ἐμοῦ†.
καὶ ταῦτα μὲν γράψασθε πρὸς γεγραμμένοις
πολλοῖσιν ἄλλοις σωφρονίσμασιν πατρός,
ἀγνῶθ' ὅμιλον ἐξελέγχεσθαι χρόνῳ·
πᾶς δ' ἐν μετοίκῳ γλῶσσαν εὔτυκον φέρει
κακήν, τό τ' εἰπεῖν εὐπετὲς μύσαγμά πως.
ὑμᾶς δ' ἐπαινῶ μὴ καταισχύνειν ἐμέ,

983 ἐγγενεῖς Heath: ἐκτενεῖσ M.
984 φίλως Mˢˢᶜʳ: φίλου M. 984 δ' Rogers: om. M.
984 αὐτ- Arsenius, -ανεψίοις Scaliger: ἀτανεψίουσ M.
985 ἐμοὶ δ' Arsenius: ἐμοὐδ' (δ corrected from σ) M.
987 δορικανεῖ μόρῳ Porson: δόρυκ'ἀνημέρωι M.
988/9 lacuna posited by Paley: < . . . τιμιωτέραν ἐμου> West (cf. 990). 989 ἐκ πρυμνῆς Portus: εὐπρυμνῆ M.
990 τιμιωτέραν ἐμοῦ M: τιμίαν ἡμᾶς (ἥμας) χρεών e.g. West.
991 γράψασθε Auratus: γράψεσθε M.
991 πρὸς γεγραμμένοις Victorius (after Robortello): προσγεγραμμένουσ M.
993 ἐξελέγχεσθαι Heimsoeth: ἐλέγχεσθαι M.
994 εὔτυκον Spanheim: εὔτυχον M.

news of what had happened which was friendly to their kin[201] and bitter towards your cousins; and they assigned to me these spearmen as attendants, so that I might have an honourable mark of distinction, and so that I might not perish unwitnessed by the surprise stroke of a weapon, thus loading the country with a burden it will never cast off,[202] ‹and so that no one except the king might have a more honourable status than me›.[203] Having received such favour, ‹it is right that we› should give them respect, gratitude ‹and honour› from the bottom of our hearts. Now inscribe this[204] in addition to the many other pieces of wise advice from your father that you have already inscribed: an unknown group is tested and proved by time;[205] and in regard to immigrants, everyone has an evil tongue ready to use, and it is rather easy to utter words of disgust. I urge you not to put me to shame, having the youthful beauty

201 i.e. to you and me.

202 lit. "an ever-living burden"; the burden is that of the guilt and pollution of having failed to protect the life of a suppliant and guest.

203 Something must have been lost here, since in the transmitted text *μήτε* "neither" in 987 has no "nor" to answer it; West's suggestion, supposing *τιμιωτέραν ἐμοῦ* (meaningless where it is transmitted, at the end of 990) to have been displaced thither from one of the lost lines, is the most plausible that has been made. In any event, the decreeing of an armed personal bodyguard to Danaus is a sinister development; at Athens, as elsewhere, it had in the past been the prelude to the establishment of a tyranny (cf. Herodotus 1.59.4–5).

204 sc. on the tablets of your mind.

205 i.e. it will take time and experience before the Argives know and esteem you.

ὥραν ἐχούσας τήνδ' ἐπίστρεπτον βροτοῖς.
τέρειν' ὀπώρα δ' εὐφύλακτος οὐδαμῶς·
θῆρες δὲ κηραίνουσι καὶ βροτοί, τί μήν;
καὶ κνώδαλα πτεροῦντα καὶ πεδοστιβῆ,
καρπώματα στάζοντα κηρύσσει Κύπρις
†κάλωρα κωλύουσαν θωσμένειν ἐρῶ†,
καὶ παρθένων χλιδαῖσιν εὐμόρφοις ἔπι
πᾶς τις παρελθὼν ὄμματος θελκτήριον
τόξευμ' ἔπεμψεν, ἱμέρου νικώμενος.
πρὸς ταῦτα μὴ πάθωμεν ὧν πολὺς πόνος,
πολὺς δὲ πόντος οὕνεκ' ἠρόθη δορί,
μηδ' αἶσχος ἡμῖν, ἡδονὴν δ' ἐχθροῖς ἐμοῖς
πράξωμεν. οἴκησις δὲ καὶ διπλῆ πάρα·
τὴν μὲν Πέλασγος, τὴν δὲ καὶ πόλις διδοῖ,
οἰκεῖν λάτρων ἄτερθεν· εὐπετῆ τάδε.
μόνον φύλαξαι τάσδ' ἐπιστολὰς πατρός,
τὸ σωφρονεῖν τιμῶσα τοῦ βίου πλέον.

999 *τί μήν; m*: *τιμὴν* M.
1000 *πεδοστιβῆ* Robortello: *παιδοστιβῆ* M.
1002 *κάλωρα κωλύουσαν θωσμένην* (*ειν* sscr.) *ἐρῶ* M: *ἄωρα, κωλύουσα* (Wecklein) *τὼς μένειν ἔρῳ* Murray: *κἄωρα* (Portus: perh. better *τἄωρα* [Kayser]?) *μωλύουσ' ἄμ', ὡς μαίνειν ἔρῳ* West.
1007 *οὕνεκ' ἠρόθη* Heath: *οὐνἐκληρώθη* M.
1009 *οἴκησις* Robortello, Turnebus: *οἰκήσεισ* M.

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206 lit. "destroy"; but since *ἀκήρατος* can mean "virgin", the verb is probably also felt as having a slight sexual tinge.
207 Aphrodite.

that you have which makes men turn their heads. Tender fruit is not at all easy to guard: beasts and men alike devour[206] it, do they not? In the case of animals, winged or walking, Cypris[207] advertises the availability of juicy fruits before they are ripe, preventing them ‹from resisting› desire;[208] and likewise with the charms of a maiden fair of form, every passer-by is vanquished by desire and shoots a glance of the eye at her that can melt her heart. Bearing that in mind, let us not suffer what we endured long sorrow and ploughed a long sea-furrow with our keel to avoid;[209] let us not cause disgrace to ourselves and pleasure to my enemies. We have two kinds of housing available—one set offered by Pelasgus, another by the city—to live in free of rent. That is easy. Only keep in mind these precepts of your father's, and value your chastity more than life itself.

208 The transmitted text of 1002 is unintelligible, and none of the many proposed restorations is acceptable. My rendering ("before they are ripe . . . resisting desire"), based mostly on the Wecklein-Murray restoration, is intended only to give an approximate sense (and to suggest that (*αν*)*θωσμένειν* might conceal an infinitive meaning "resist" or the like—but I cannot find a suitable verb). West's proposal, giving the sense "and at the same time softening up the less ripe, so as to madden them with desire", unsatisfactorily distinguishes between ripe juicy (female) fruit (*towards which* Cypris apparently directs the desire of the male animals) and unripe fruit (*in which* she implants desire), leaving it unclear which of the two corresponds to the Danaids; in some respects it is also dubious linguistically (e.g. *μωλύω*, when it has a living being as object, usually refers to a change that *diminishes* the creature's health or vigour). 209 lit. (with a zeugma) "let us not suffer that because of which much toil (*πόνος*) and much sea (*πόντος*) was ploughed by our ship".

ΧΟΡΟΣ

τἄλλ᾽ εὐτυχοῖμεν πρὸς θεῶν Ὀλυμπίων·
ἐμῆς δ᾽ ὀπώρας οὕνεκ᾽ εὖ θάρσει, πάτερ.
εἰ γάρ τι μὴ θεοῖς βεβούλευται νέον,
ἴχνος τὸ πρόσθεν οὐ διαστρέψω φρενός.

στρ. α ἴτε μὰν ἄστυδ᾽, ἄνακτας
μάκαρας θεοὺς γανόωντες,
πολιούχους τε καὶ οἳ χεῦμ᾽ Ἐρασίνου
περιναίουσιν παλαιόν.
ὑποδέξασθε δ᾽, ὀπαδοί,
μέλος, αἶνος δὲ πόλιν τάνδε Πελασγῶν
ἐχέτω, μηδ᾽ ἔτι Νείλου
προχοὰς σέβωμεν ὕμνοις,

ἀντ. α ποταμοὺς δ᾽ οἳ διὰ χώρας
θελεμὸν πῶμα χέουσιν,
πολύτεκνοι, λιπαροῖς χεύμασι γαίας
τόδε μειλίσσοντες οὖδας.
ἐπίδοι δ᾽ Ἄρτεμις ἁγνὰ
στόλον οἰκτιζομένα, μηδ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἀνάγκας

1018 ἄστυδ᾽, ἄνακτας Tucker: ἀστυάνακτας M. 1019 γανόωντες Pauw: γανάεντεσ M. 1021 περιναίουσιν Marckscheffel (-ουσι Pauw): περιναίετε M. 1022 ὑποδέξασθε δ᾽ Pauw: ὑποδέξασθ᾽ M. 1023 μέλος Legrand: μένοσ M. 1025 προχοὰς Robortello, Turnebus: πρὸσχοὰσ M. 1029 μειλίσσοντες Pauw: μελίσσοντεσ M.

CHORUS

In all else may the Olympian gods give us good fortune—
but so far as my "fruit" is concerned, father, you can have
confidence: unless the gods have decided on some new
plan, I will not deviate from the track my mind has fol-
lowed till now.

Go[210] now to the town, glorifying
the blessed lords, the gods,
both those of the city and those who dwell around
the ancient stream of Erasinus.[211]
Accept our song,
you escorts, and let praise enfold this city
of the Pelasgians; no longer let us
sing in honour of the mouths of the Nile,
but of the rivers that pour their tranquil waters
through this land, to drink for health
and for fertility, softening[212] the soil of the land
with their oil-smooth streams.
May chaste Artemis watch over
this band in pity, and may Cytherea's[213] consummation

[210] Since the participle γανόωντες is masculine, this is presumably addressed by the Danaids to themselves *and their father*; the only other males present, the Argive soldiers, are asked at 1022–3 (not to sing but) to *receive* the song (as representatives of Argos).

[211] The Danaids will be crossing this small river en route from the coast to Argos. The other river of Argos, the Inachus (497), flows past the city on the far (north) side.

[212] lit. "propitiating", i.e. making friendly (to man's agricultural activity).

[213] Cytherea is another by-name of Aphrodite.

τέλος ἔλθοι Κυθερείας·
Στύγιον πέλοι τόδ' ἆθλον.

ΑΡΓΕΙΟΙ

στρ. β Κύπριδος δ' οὐκ ἀμελεῖν, θεσμὸς ὅδ' εὔφρων·
δύναται γὰρ Διὸς ἄγχιστα σὺν Ἥρᾳ,
τίεται δ' αἰολόμητις
θεὸς ἔργοις ἐπὶ σεμνοῖς·
μετάκοινοι δὲ φίλᾳ ματρὶ πάρεισιν
Πόθος ᾇ τ' οὐδὲν ἄπαρνον
τελέθει θέλκτορι Πειθοῖ,
δέδοταί θ' Ἁρμονία μοῖρ' Ἀφροδίτᾳ
ψεδυραὶ τρίβοι τ' ἐρώτων.

1032 τέλος Weil: γάμος M. 1032 ἔλθοι Ald.: ἔλθει M.
1033 Στύγιον Stephanus: στύγειον M. 1034 δ' Pauw: om. M. 1034 ἀμελεῖν Nauck: ἀμελεῖ M.
1038 δὲ Arsenius: δ'αἱ M. 1039 ᾇ Wellauer: om. M.
1040 θέλκτορι Musgrave, Πειθοῖ Arsenius: θεακτορι πιθοῖ M. 1041 θ' West: δ' M. 1041 Ἁρμονία Hermann, Ἀφρόδιτᾳ Hartung: ἁρμονίαν (-ίαι Ms) . . . ἀφροδίτασ M.
1042 ψεδυραὶ Scaliger: ψεδυρα (θ written oϛer δ) M.

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214 lit. "belong to the Styx" (one of the underworld rivers).

215 M marks no changes of speaker anywhere in 1018–73, but the text makes it clear that 1018–33 come from one group, 1034–51 from another group (or maybe individual), and 1052–61 is an altercation between the two. The dissenter(s) have been identified as half of the Danaids disputing with the other half (Hermann), as the maidservants of 977–9 (Kirchhoff), and as Danaus (Taplin); the currently favoured candidates are the escort of Argive soldiers (first suggested by H. Freericks; see more re-

not come to us by compulsion:
may that prize be won only in Hades![214]

ARGIVE SOLDIERS[215]

But it is a wise rule not to ignore Cypris;
for she holds power very close to Zeus, together with Hera,[216]
a goddess of cunning wiles
who is honoured for awesome deeds.[217]
Partners and associates with their dear mother
are Desire and the charmer Persuasion,
to whom nothing can be refused,
and also given to Aphrodite as her portion[218] are Union[219]
and the whispering paths of love-making.

cently H. Friis Johansen, *Classica et Mediaevalia* 27 [1966] 61–64, and R. Seaford, *Dioniso* 55 [1984] 221–9). Yet another possibility is that Hypermestra, the future rebel, here for the first time (and in breach of normal tragic convention) takes a stand against her sisters; see D.A. Hester, *Antichthon* 21 (1987) 9–18.

216 Hera was a patron of marriage: cf. *Eum.* 213–6.

217 Referring not so much to "accomplishments of the sexual act" (Friis Johansen and Whittle) as to the broader power that Aphrodite exercises over the whole living world (cf. 998–1005).

218 Cf. Hesiod, *Theogony* 203–6, where Aphrodite is said to have had allotted as her portion (*μοῖραν*) from the beginning "the whisperings and smiles and deceptions of maidens, and sweet delight and love-making (*φιλότητα*, cf. next note) and gentleness".

219 Ἁρμονία (properly "joining together") is used by Empedocles (frr. 27.3, 122 D-K) as a synonym for Φιλότης, the power that presided over that phase in the history of the universe when all the elements were intimately united.

ἀντ. β φυγάδεσσιν δ' ἔτι ποινὰς κακά τ' ἄλγη
πολέμους θ' αἱματόεντας προφοβοῦμαι·
τί ποτ' εὔπλοιαν ἔπραξαν
ταχυπόμποισι διωγμοῖς;
ὅ τι τοι μόρσιμόν ἐστιν, τὸ γένοιτ' ἂν—
Διὸς οὐ παρβατός ἐστιν
μεγάλα φρὴν ἀπέρατος—
μετὰ πολλᾶν δὲ γάμων ἅδε τελευτὰ
προτερᾶν πέλοι γυναικῶν.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

στρ. γ ὁ μέγας Ζεὺς ἀπαλέξαι
γάμον Αἰγυπτογενῆ μοι.

ΑΡΓΕΙΟΙ

τὸ μὲν ἂν βέλτατον εἴη—

ΧΟΡΟΣ

σὺ δὲ θέλγοις ἂν ἄθελκτον.

ΑΡΓΕΙΟΙ

σὺ δέ γ' οὐκ οἶσθα τὸ μέλλον.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἀντ. γ τί δὲ μέλλω φρένα Δίαν
καθορᾶν, ὄψιν ἄβυσσον;

1043 *φυγάδεσσιν* Burges: *φυγάδεσ* M.
1043 *ἔτι ποινὰς* Burges (*ἐπιπνοίας* Turnebus): *ἐπιπνοίαι* M.
1048 *παρβατός* Askew: *παραβάτασ* M.
1050 *πολλᾶν* Wilamowitz: *πολλῶν* M.
1055 *θέλγοις ἂν ἄθελκτον* Stephanus: *θέλγεισ ἀνάθελκτον* M.

For the fugitives I foresee and fear punishments still to
come,
dire suffering and bloody wars:
why, why did they[220] get good sailing
in their swift-sped pursuit?
Whatever is fated, you know, that will happen—
the great, unfathomable mind of Zeus
cannot be crossed—
and this outcome, marriage, would be shared
with many women before you.

CHORUS

May great Zeus defend me
from marriage with the sons of Aegyptus!

ARGIVE SOLDIERS

That would certainly be best[221]—

CHORUS

You're trying to cajole the uncajolable.

ARGIVE SOLDIERS

And *you* don't know the future.

CHORUS

How can I be expected to see into the mind
of Zeus, gazing into its bottomless depths?

220 The sons of Aegyptus.

221 The Danaids, it seems, rightly infer from the particle μέν that the Argives are about to urge them to be less uncompromising, and interrupt to insist that such advice will be wasted on them.

ΑΡΓΕΙΟΙ

μέτριόν νυν ἔπος εὔχου.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

τίνα καιρόν με διδάσκεις;

ΑΡΓΕΙΟΙ

τὰ θεῶν μηδὲν ἀγάζειν.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

στρ. δ Ζεὺς ἄναξ ἀποστεροί-
η γάμον δυσάνορα
δάϊον, ὅσπερ Ἰὼ
πημονᾶς ἐλύσατ᾽ εὖ
χειρὶ παιωνίᾳ κατασχεθών,
εὐμενῆ βίαν κτίσας,

ἀντ. δ καὶ κράτος νέμοι γυναι-
ξίν. τὸ βέλτερον κακοῦ
καὶ τὸ δίμοιρον αἰνῶ,

1062 Ζεὺς *m*: ζεῦ M.
1063 γάμον Robortello, Turnebus: γάμου M.
1067 εὐμενῆ βίαν Valckenaer: εὐμενεῖ βία M.
1070 τὸ Σ: τε M.

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222 Alluding to the maxim μηδὲν ἄγαν, first explicitly attested in Theognis (401–2) but in essence at least as old as Hesiod (*Works and Days* 694) and often linked with the ideas of due measure (μέτρον, cf. 1059) and accurate decision or timing (καιρός, cf. 1060).

223 ἀποστερεῖν means to deprive someone of something

ARGIVE SOLDIERS

Then make your prayer a moderate one.

CHORUS

What are you instructing me is the right choice?

ARGIVE SOLDIERS

Not to ask too much of the gods.[222]

CHORUS

May Lord Zeus deprive us[223]
of a hateful marriage to men
who are our foes—he who gave Io
a good release from her sufferings,
restraining her with his healing hand,[224]
making force kindly—

and may he give victory
to women. I am content to have the better kind
of evil, the two-thirds kind,[225]

which (s)he is entitled, and wants, to have: one would never normally *pray* to a god to ἀποστερεῖν one of anything. The strained language draws attention to the fact that the Danaids are praying that they may remain unmarried—normally considered to be the worst fate that could befall a woman.

224 Cf. on 576–8.

225 This expression is based on an interpretation of *Iliad* 24.527–533 according to which Zeus has two jars of evil and one of good, and humans' fortunes are either mixed equally from the three jars (and so are two-thirds evil) or else are entirely evil. This interpretation, though rejected by later commentators on Homer, was adopted by Pindar, *Pythian* 3.80–81, and was evidently current in the fifth century.

καὶ δίκᾳ δίκαν ἔπεσ-
θαι ξὺν εὐχαῖς ἐμαῖς, λυτηρίοις
μαχαναῖς θεοῦ πάρα.

1071 δίκᾳ δίκαν Haupt: δίκα δίκασ M.

and that judgement should go with justice,
according to my prayers,
through divine contrivances that bring freedom.

All depart towards the city.

PROMETHEUS BOUND

In late antiquity and the Middle Ages *Prometheus Bound* was the most read of Aeschylean plays, and in subsequent centuries it has remained among the most popular; in particular, its portrayal of a god who endures potentially unending torment, for the sake of humanity, from the agents of a tyrannical Zeus, appealed very powerfully to thinkers, authors and artists of the revolutionary and romantic periods, notably Goethe, Byron, Shelley, Marx and Nietzsche.[1] From the mid nineteenth century, however, doubts began to appear about whether the play was in fact his work. Some of these rested on the inadequate basis of supposed inconsistencies between the theology of this play and that of the rest of the Aeschylean corpus, but increasingly attention has been drawn to important features of style and technique in which *Prometheus Bound* (as well as its evident sequel, *Prometheus Unbound*) differ markedly from the undisputed plays of Aeschylus, and to possible echoes of other texts that were not composed until after his death. The issue remains in dispute, and the play's authenticity continues to find powerful defenders, not least because it

[1] For a review of the reception of this play in ancient, medieval and modern times, see A. J. Podlecki, *Aeschylus: Prometheus Bound* (Oxford, 2005) 41–68.

was never questioned in antiquity; but at present it would probably be true to say that a majority of scholars would regard it as being by a slightly later hand.[2] West's suggestion (*Studies* 67–72) that the hand is that of Aeschylus' son Euphorion, passing his own work off as that of his father, is a very tempting one, not least because it gives full value to the play's audacious grandeur of concept, reminiscent of that of the *Oresteia* and quite unlike anything found in Sophocles or Euripides, which surely suggests Aeschylean inspiration even if the detailed technique may not suggest Aeschylean workmanship.

We have no direct information as to when the play was produced. Whether by Aeschylus or not, it can hardly be earlier than *Suppliants*, to which it contains a clear reference;[3] and it cannot be later than about 430, since in (prob-

[2] The play's authenticity was first doubted by Robert Westphal in A. Rossbach and R. Westphal, *Metrik der griechischen Dramatiker und Lyriker* (Leipzig, 1856) 3, and denied with powerful arguments by W. Schmid, *Untersuchungen zum Gefesselten Prometheus* (Stuttgart, 1929). These, however, made little impact on English-speaking scholarship until the appearance of Mark Griffith's *The Authenticity of Prometheus Bound* (Cambridge, 1977) which focused on linguistic, metrical and other technical arguments against authenticity. Important later studies taking the same view have included M. L. West, *JHS* 99 (1979) 130–148 and *Studies* 51–72, and R. Bees, *Zur Datierung des Prometheus Desmotes* (Stuttgart, 1993); the play's authenticity has been defended by, among others, M. P. Pattoni, *L'autenticità del Prometeo Incatenato di Eschilo* (Pisa, 1987) and Podlecki, *Aeschylus: Prometheus Bound* 195–200. [3] The image of the doves and hawks applied to the Danaids and their cousins in *Prom.* 857 echoes the same image in *Supp.* 223–4.

ably) 429 its sequel *Prometheus Unbound* was imitated or parodied in a comedy by Cratinus.[4] It may be significant that Euphorion won first prize at the City Dionysia of 431, defeating both Sophocles and Euripides.[5]

The story of how Prometheus stole fire from Zeus and gave it to men, was cruelly punished by the supreme god, but was ultimately released by Heracles, had been told by Hesiod in the *Theogony* (507–616),[6] who combined it with the story of the creation of the first woman.[7] Our play ignores this myth[8] and instead forges links between the Prometheus/fire story and the great narrative of the successive

[4] See introductory note to *Prometheus Unbound* (vol. iii).

[5] Euripides' production included the surviving *Medea*, to one of whose Hypotheses we owe our information about the contest.

[6] Though at the end of that passage Hesiod seems to have forgotten about Prometheus' release, which he had narrated in 526–534, since, if his text is sound, he says (616) that Prometheus is still confined by his bonds.

[7] Made by Hephaestus at the instructions of Zeus, as part of the latter's revenge upon humanity for having acquired the use of fire (*Theogony* 570–2), and given as wife to Prometheus' brother Epimetheus (whose name means "Afterthought", as Prometheus' name means "Forethought"), who forgets Prometheus' warning never to accept any gift from Zeus lest it cause harm to humans (*Theogony* 511–4, *Works and Days* 84–89). In the *Works and Days* (80–82), but not in the *Theogony*, she is given the name Pandora.

[8] Which seems, however, to have been used by Aeschylus in the satyr-drama *Prometheus the Fire-Bearer* (or *Fire-Kindler*); see introductory note to that play (vol. iii).

generations of the gods[9]—how Zeus overthrew his father Cronus, and how he was himself at risk of being overthrown by a son of his if he did not take great care in choosing mothers for his children. In the *Theogony* (507–510) he is a son of Iapetus, Cronus' brother; in our play he is upgraded to be himself at least a half-brother of Cronus,[10] a son of Gaea herself (209–210)[11] who is in turn identified with the prophetic goddess Themis (*ibid.*)[12] And Themis is able to give Prometheus knowledge—*fore*knowledge, enabling him to live up to the meaning of his name—of crucial developments in the history of the divine world. She tells him that victory in the war between the generations of gods will go to craft, not to force (209–213), thus enabling him, god of craft as he is, to offer his services to both sides, only the younger gods accepting them. She too, presumably, it is who tells him[13] the secret which, if he can only

9 There is also a side glance at another evidently well-known myth about Prometheus. At 231–6 we are told that Prometheus alone resisted, and frustrated, an attempt by Zeus to "obliterate the [human] race altogether and create another new one"; this may refer to his role in the Flood story (Hesiod fr. 2; Epicharmus frr. 113–120 K-A) or to another similar tale.

10 In *Prometheus Unbound* (fr. 193.1) he calls the chorus of Titans *socia nostri sanguinis*, and in Cratinus' comedy *The Wealthgods* a chorus of Titans (fr. 171.11) say they have come in search of "our own old brother" (*ib.* 25–26).

11 Cf. also 90, 1091. He is nowhere actually said to have Uranus as his father, though 165 may imply it.

12 Cf. 18, 873–4. In *Eumenides* (2) Themis is a *daughter* of Gaea.

13 We are never actually told this in this play (though it may have been mentioned in *Prometheus Unbound*, especially if Gaea-

keep it safe, gives him ultimate power even over Zeus: the identity of the female who is destined to bear a son mightier than his father, and with whom, therefore, Zeus cannot mate without sealing his own doom. The audience probably know, as soon as they hear the prophecy, that Thetis is meant—and therefore how the confrontation between Prometheus and Zeus will in due course end; Prometheus knows too, of course, but Zeus does not. In the latter part of the play Prometheus proclaims the coming fall of Zeus more and more loudly, but nothing will make him reveal who the fatal female is; and his punishment and pain, already greater than anything that a mortal can even imagine, is increased even further. He is told that (as in Hesiod)[14] Zeus' eagle will come to gnaw at his liver, but only after he has been thrust beneath the earth to remain in darkness for a long period.[15] With the implementation of this first part of his intensified punishment, *Prometheus Bound* ends.

It is a play of startling spectacle, whose realization has often been thought to stretch the resources of the Athenian theatre. According to the text, Prometheus is bound

Themis was a character there); but in Pindar (*Isthmian* 8.29–51) it was Themis who revealed to the gods that Thetis was destined to bear a son mightier than his father, and in a parallel tale in Hesiod (*Theogony* 886–900) it was Gaea, with Uranus, who advised Zeus to swallow Metis and so prevent her giving birth to "a son who should be king of gods and men".

14 *Theogony* 523–5.

15 The period is thirteen generations (cf. 773–4), since he meets Heracles not long after his return to the surface. In *Prometheus the Fire-Bearer* (fr. 208a), in contrast, his confinement is said to have lasted thirty thousand years.

to the windswept upper part of a high cliff, overlooking a deep ravine.[16] It is highly likely that the cliff, as in Sophocles' *Philoctetes* or Aristophanes' *Birds*, is represented by the *skēnē* (while the *orchestra* represents the floor of the ravine), and that Prometheus, like a felon being executed by *apotympanismos*,[17] will be shown *suspended* in his bonds, his feet not touching the stage-platform. If he is bound to a board resting on the *skēnē* door (which is never used during the play itself), then at the very end he can be made, by the sudden opening of the door, to fall into the dark interior of the *skēnē*—and, in imagination, of the earth.[18]

The chorus and their father Oceanus both arrive by an aerial method of transport—or at any rate Prometheus, before the arrival of the chorus, hears a "rustling sound of

[16] See 4–5, 15, 20, 31, 142, 157, 269–270, 563, 618, 1016–7.

[17] This Athenian method of capital punishment involved clamping the criminal by the neck, wrists and ankles to a large board and standing the board up, perhaps against a wall, in such a way that the condemned man's feet did not reach the ground; he would be left degradingly and agonizingly exposed, with no one permitted to come near him, probably until sunset when, if still alive, he would be strangled by tightening the neck clamp. Euripides' old in-law is subjected to this treatment (for sacrilege) in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae* (930–1208) until Euripides rescues and releases him. See L. Gernet, *REG* 37 (1924) 261–293, and R. J. Bonner and G. Smith, *The Administration of Justice from Homer to Aristotle* (Chicago, 1930–8) ii 279–287. Prometheus, being immortal, will remain thus not for one day, but day and night for an indefinite period (19–34)—though for the actor's benefit a discreet footrest will doubtless have been provided.

[18] See note on 1093.

birds" and the "light beating of wings" (123–5), while the chorus say they have come "on swift, striving wings", sped by "the swift breezes . . . in a winged car" (128–135), and later speak of leaving "this swift-moving car and the pure upper air, the pathway of birds" (278–280), and Oceanus actually points to the "swift-winged bird" he has guided to the scene (286–7, cf. 394–5) and perhaps never dismounts from it.[19] It seems most likely that the chorus are first seen, in a vehicle or vehicles, on the roof of the *skēnē*,[20] from which they descend, out of sight, between 283 and 396,[21] from which point they take their normal position in the *orchestra*; while Oceanus' entrance and exit are a clear case for the use of the flying-machine (*mēchanē*).

There can be little doubt that *Prometheus Bound* was produced together with *Prometheus Unbound*; numerous fragments of the latter play are preserved, and they are presented and discussed in the Fragments section of this edition. Prometheus also gives a title to what, *prima facie*, are two other Aeschylean plays, *Prometheus the Fire-Bearer* (Πυρφόρος) and *Prometheus the Fire-Kindler* (Πυρκαεύς). From the latter a fragment (205) is cited whose metre guarantees that it comes from a satyr-drama, not a tragedy, and this must have been the Prometheus satyr-drama that was produced together with *Persians* and its companion plays in 472. *Prometheus the Fire-Bearer* has

[19] He does not mention dismounting or remounting, though his line "Your words are plainly meant to send me back home" (387)—his first single-line speech in the scene—provide a possible occasion for the latter.

[20] See notes on 128 and 140.

[21] See note on 283/4.

usually been taken to be the title of a tragedy produced together with *Bound* and *Unbound*, either as the first play of a trilogy (dealing with Prometheus' theft of fire) or as the last (dealing, perhaps, with the establishment of his Athenian cult). There are, however, serious objections to either view, and it is more likely that *Prometheus the Fire-Bearer* is merely an alternative (and arguably a more appropriate) title for the satyr-drama of 472.[22] In that case we have no way of knowing what the third (or for that matter the fourth) play was that Aeschylus, or Euphorion, or whoever it may have been, produced together with the two in which Prometheus was first taken down to Hades and then brought back up to fresh torment and then to release and glory.

[22] See A. L. Brown, *BICS* 37 (1990) 50–56, and Sommerstein *AT* 319–321; also introductory note to *Prometheus the Fire-Bearer* (vol. iii).

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ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ ΔΕΣΜΩΤΗΣ

ΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ

ΚΡΑΤΟΣ
ΗΦΑΙΣΤΟΣ
ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ
ΧΟΡΟΣ ΩΚΕΑΝΙΔΩΝ
ΩΚΕΑΝΟΣ
ΙΩ
ΕΡΜΗΣ

PROMETHEUS BOUND

CHARACTERS OF THE PLAY

POWER, *servant of Zeus*
HEPHAESTUS
PROMETHEUS
CHORUS *of daughters of Oceanus*
OCEANUS
IO, *daughter of Inachus, loved by Zeus*
HERMES

Produced at an unknown date, probably after Aeschylus' death but certainly no later than 430 BC (see Introduction), together with *Prometheus Unbound* (which directly followed it); the other plays in the production cannot be identified.

Scene: A remote, uninhabited region of Scythia. One of the two side-passages is imagined to lead eventually to Olympus and Greece, the other to further lands at the edge of the world.

Enter POWER *and* VIOLENCE, *leading* PROMETHEUS *prisoner; they are accompanied by* HEPHAESTUS *who is carrying his tools.*

ΚΡΑΤΟΣ

Χθονὸς μὲν εἰς τήλουρον ἥκομεν πέδον,
Σκύθην ἐς οἶμον, ἄβροτον εἰς ἐρημίαν.
Ἥφαιστε, σοὶ δὲ χρὴ μέλειν ἐπιστολὰς
ἅς σοι πατὴρ ἐφεῖτο, τόνδε πρὸς πέτραις
ὑψηλοκρήμνοις τὸν λεωργὸν ὀχμάσαι
ἀδαμαντίνων δεσμῶν ἐν ἀρρήκτοις πέδαις.
τὸ σὸν γὰρ ἄνθος, παντέχνου πυρὸς σέλας,
θνητοῖσι κλέψας ὤπασεν· τοιᾶσδέ τοι
ἁμαρτίας σφε δεῖ θεοῖς δοῦναι δίκην,
ὡς ἂν διδαχθῇ τὴν Διὸς τυραννίδα
στέργειν, φιλανθρώπου δὲ παύεσθαι τρόπου.

ΗΦΑΙΣΤΟΣ

Κράτος Βία τε, σφῷν μὲν ἐντολὴ Διὸς
ἔχει τέλος δή, κοὐδὲν ἐμποδὼν ἔτι.
ἐγὼ δ' ἄτολμός εἰμι συγγενῆ θεὸν
δῆσαι βίᾳ φάραγγι πρὸς δυσχειμέρῳ·
πάντως δ' ἀνάγκη τῶνδέ μοι τόλμαν σχεθεῖν,
εὐωριάζειν γὰρ πατρὸς λόγους βαρύ.
τῆς ὀρθοβούλου Θέμιδος αἰπυμῆτα παῖ,
ἄκοντά σ' ἄκων δυσλύτοις χαλκεύμασιν
προσπασσαλεύσω τῷδ' ἀπανθρώπῳ πάγῳ,
ἵν' οὔτε φωνὴν οὔτε του μορφὴν βροτῶν

2 ἄβροτον (or ἄδροτον) *t*: ἄβατον codd. *t*.
6 ἀδαμαντίνων δεσμῶν ἐν *t*: ἀδαμαντίναις (-οις *b'*, -ῃς *b' k'*) πέδησιν (-αις or -αισιν 1 *b'*, -οις *b'*) ἐν (om. *b' k'*) codd.
6 πέδαις *t*: πέτραις codd.
17 εὐωριάζειν Porson: ἐξωριάζειν codd.

POWER

We have reached the land at the furthest bounds of earth, the Scythian marches, a wilderness where no mortals live. Hephaestus, you must attend to the instructions the Father has laid upon you, to bind this criminal to the high rocky cliffs in the unbreakable fetters of adamantine bonds; for it was your glory, the gleam of fire that makes all skills attainable, that he stole and gave to mortals. For such an offence he must assuredly pay his penalty to the gods, to teach him that he must accept the autocracy of Zeus and abandon his human-loving ways.

HEPHAESTUS

So far as you two are concerned, Power and Violence,[1] the orders of Zeus have been completely fulfilled, and there is no task still lying before you. But for my part, I can hardly bring myself to take a kindred god and forcibly bind him at this stormy ravine; still, I have no alternative but to endure doing it, for it is dangerous to slight the Father's word. [*To* PROMETHEUS] God of lofty cunning, son of Themis[2] of wise counsel, I, under as much constraint as you, am going to nail you, with metal bonds hard to undo, to this rock, remote from men. Here you will hear no mortal voice, see no

[1] This pair come from Hesiod, *Theogony* 385–401, where they are children of Styx who live permanently with Zeus, follow wherever he leads, and embody his absolute power over the universe.

[2] This is an innovation; in Hesiod's *Theogony* Prometheus is son of Cronus' brother Iapetus and the Oceanid Clymene (507–511), while Themis has no children until she bears Dike, the Fates, the Seasons and others to Zeus (901–6).

ὄψῃ, σταθευτὸς δ' ἡλίου φοιβῇ φλογὶ
χροιᾶς ἀμείψεις ἄνθος· ἀσμένῳ δέ σοι
ἡ ποικιλείμων νὺξ ἀποκρύψει φάος,
πάχνην θ' ἑῴαν ἥλιος σκεδᾷ πάλιν·
αἰεὶ δὲ τοῦ παρόντος ἀχθηδὼν κακοῦ
τρύσει σ'· ὁ λωφήσων γὰρ οὐ πέφυκέ πω.
τοιαῦτ' ἀπηύρω τοῦ φιλανθρώπου τρόπου·
θεὸς θεῶν γὰρ οὐχ ὑποπτήσσων χόλον
βροτοῖσι τιμὰς ὤπασας πέρα δίκης·
ἀνθ' ὧν ἀτερπῆ τήνδε φρουρήσεις πέτραν
ὀρθοστάδην, ἄυπνος, οὐ κάμπτων γόνυ·
πολλοὺς δ' ὀδυρμοὺς καὶ γόους ἀνωφελεῖς
φθέγξῃ· Διὸς γὰρ δυσπαραίτητοι φρένες·
ἅπας δὲ τραχὺς ὅστις ἂν νέον κρατῇ.

ΚΡΑΤΟΣ

εἶἐν, τί μέλλεις καὶ κατοικτίζῃ μάτην;
τί τὸν θεοῖς ἔχθιστον οὐ στυγεῖς θεόν,
ὅστις τὸ σὸν θνητοῖσι προύδωκεν γέρας;

ΗΦΑΙΣΤΟΣ

τὸ ξυγγενές τοι δεινὸν ἥ θ' ὁμιλία.

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[3] i.e. the coming of night will temporarily end one kind of suffering (from the sun) only to bring another (cold) from which, in turn, you will long for relief; and vice versa.

[4] Hephaestus should no doubt be taken to intend this as an understatement for "will never be born"; the audience will probably detect an ironic allusion to Heracles (cf. Hesiod, *Theogony* 526–531), but they will later discover (757–768) that Prometheus knows of another sense in which a being not yet born could end his suffering.

mortal form; you will lose the bloom of your skin, grilled by the brilliant flames of the sun; welcome to you will be Night of the gaudy apparel when she hides the daylight, but welcome too the return of the sun to disperse the early morning frost;[3] and you will be continually worn down by the burden of one or another kind of suffering, for he who can relieve it is not yet born.[4] This is what you have gained from your human-loving ways. Though a god, you did not tremble before the anger of the gods, and you gave honours to mortals beyond what is right; in punishment for which you will keep watch on this rock, upright, without sleep, without bending your knee,[5] and will utter many wailing laments, all in vain. The mind of Zeus is implacable—and everyone is harsh when new to power.

POWER

Well, then, why are you waiting and grieving to no purpose? Why do you not loathe this god whom the gods hate so much, who traitorously gave your most prized possession to mortals?

HEPHAESTUS

Kinship is terribly powerful,[6] you know, and so is companionship.[7]

[5] "Bending the knee" idiomatically means "resting" (396; *Iliad* 7.118, 19.71); but Prometheus in his bonds will be *literally* unable to bend his. [6] Not entirely logical, since Hephaestus is also close kin (nephew) to Zeus. [7] This may possibly foreshadow the cultic association in classical Athens between Prometheus and Hephaestus (they shared an altar in the Academy district, cf. Apollodorus *FGrH* 244 F 147), but this can hardly be imagined as existing at the time of the play's action; the poet may be thinking rather of Prometheus' alliance with the Olympians in their war against Cronus and the Titans (cf. 214–221).

ΚΡΑΤΟΣ

ξύμφημ᾽· ἀνηκουστεῖν δὲ τῶν πατρὸς λόγων
οἷόν τε πῶς; οὐ τοῦτο δειμαίνεις πλέον;

ΗΦΑΙΣΤΟΣ

αἰεί γε δὴ νηλὴς σὺ καὶ θράσους πλέως.

ΚΡΑΤΟΣ

ἄκος γὰρ οὐδὲν τόνδε θρηνεῖσθαι· σὺ δὲ
τὰ μηδὲν ὠφελοῦντα μὴ πόνει μάτην.

ΗΦΑΙΣΤΟΣ

ὦ πολλὰ μισηθεῖσα χειρωναξία.

ΚΡΑΤΟΣ

τί νιν στυγεῖς; πόνων γὰρ ὡς ἁπλῷ λόγῳ
τῶν νῦν παρόντων οὐδὲν αἰτία τέχνη.

ΗΦΑΙΣΤΟΣ

ἔμπας τις αὐτὴν ἄλλος ὤφελεν λαχεῖν.

ΚΡΑΤΟΣ

ἅπαντ᾽ ἐπαχθῆ πλὴν θεοῖσι κοιρανεῖν·
ἐλεύθερος γὰρ οὔτις ἐστὶ πλὴν Διός.

ΗΦΑΙΣΤΟΣ

ἔγνωκα τοῖσδε, κοὐδὲν ἀντειπεῖν ἔχω.

ΚΡΑΤΟΣ

οὔκουν ἐπείξῃ τῷδε δεσμὰ περιβαλεῖν,
ὡς μή σ᾽ ἐλινύοντα προσδερχθῇ πατήρ;

42 γε δὴ *k*: τε δὴ M: τοι δὴ I^{pc} *b* $\lambda\Sigma^{\Phi}$: τι δὴ *k*: τοι I *b*.
49 ἐπαχθῆ Stanley: ἐπράχθη codd.

POWER

I agree; but how is it possible to disobey the word of the Father? Are you not more in terror of that?

HEPHAESTUS

You are always pitiless and full of ruthlessness.

POWER

Because it does no good to lament over this fellow; so don't waste effort when it won't be of any use.

HEPHAESTUS

Oh, how I hate my craft skills!

POWER

Why do you hate them? Quite simply, your skills aren't in any way responsible for the task you now have.[8]

HEPHAESTUS

All the same, I wish someone else had been allotted them.

POWER

Everything is burdensome, except ruling over the gods: no one is free but Zeus.

HEPHAESTUS

These things [*indicating the bonds he is to fasten on* PROMETHEUS] prove to me that that is so, and I have no way to argue otherwise.

POWER

Well, won't you hurry up and put the bonds on him, so that the Father doesn't look and see you idling?

[8] Implying that the responsibility lies with Zeus (who gave the order) and/or with Prometheus (who brought his punishment on himself).

ΗΦΑΙΣΤΟΣ

καὶ δὴ πρόχειρα ψάλια δέρκεσθαι πάρα.

ΚΡΑΤΟΣ

βαλών νυν ἀμφὶ χερσὶν ἐγκρατεῖ σθένει
ῥαιστῆρι θεῖνε, πασσάλευε πρὸς πέτραις.

ΗΦΑΙΣΤΟΣ

περαίνεται δὴ κοὐ ματᾷ τοὔργον τόδε.

ΚΡΑΤΟΣ

ἄρασσε μᾶλλον, σφίγγε, μηδαμῇ χάλα·
δεινὸς γὰρ εὑρεῖν κἀξ ἀμηχάνων πόρον.

ΗΦΑΙΣΤΟΣ

ἄραρεν ἥδε γ' ὠλένη δυσεκλύτως.

ΚΡΑΤΟΣ

καὶ τήνδε νυν πόρπασον ἀσφαλῶς, ἵνα
μάθῃ σοφιστὴς ὢν Διὸς νωθέστερος.

ΗΦΑΙΣΤΟΣ

δρᾶν ταῦτ' ἀνάγκη· μηδὲν ἐγκέλευ' ἄγαν.

ΚΡΑΤΟΣ

ἦ μὴν κελεύσω κἀπιθωΰξω γε πρός.
ἀλλ' ἀμφὶ πλευραῖς μασχαλιστῆρας βάλε.

55 βαλών Pearson, νυν Blaydes: λαβών νιν codd.
72, 73, 71 transposed by Dyson to precede 63.

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9 Prometheus' "harness" consists of metal bands clamping his arms (55–63), upper body (71) and legs (74–81) to the rock, plus the wedge ostensibly driven through his chest (64–69).

HEPHAESTUS

Well, you can see that the harness is ready here.[9]

POWER

Then put it around his arms and with all the strength at your command strike with your hammer and nail it to the rock.

HEPHAESTUS [*beginning to do so*]

The job is being completed, you see, with no dallying.

POWER

Strike harder, squeeze him, don't leave any slack! He's very clever at finding ways out of impossible situations.

HEPHAESTUS

Well, *this* arm is fixed so it can hardly be freed.

POWER

Then pin down that other one safely too, so that he'll learn, this intellectual,[10] that Zeus is cleverer than he is.

HEPHAESTUS [*as he finishes clamping the arms*]

I've got to do it; you needn't keep ordering me.[11]

POWER

I most certainly *shall* order you, in fact I'll hound you on. Now put the armpit-bands around his rib-cage.

[10] Greek σοφιστής "one who professes wisdom or expertise".

[11] For the transposition here adopted see M. Dyson, *JHS* 114 (1994) 154–6: it makes the structure of the middle phase of the binding (chest) parallel to that of the first phase (arms) and the last phase (legs)—as Dyson schematically expresses it, "'Do it'—'Done'—'Make it firmer'—'Done'". It also (a point not made by Dyson) eases the problem of staging the insertion of the wedge, which can be so made that when it is (lightly) hammered it fastens itself into the chest-band and stays in position.

ΗΦΑΙΣΤΟΣ

πλὴν τοῦδ' ἂν οὐδεὶς ἐνδίκως μέμψαιτό μοι.

ΚΡΑΤΟΣ

ἀδαμαντίνου νυν σφηνὸς αὐθάδη γνάθον
στέρνων διαμπὰξ πασσάλευ' ἐρρωμένως.

ΗΦΑΙΣΤΟΣ

αἰαῖ, Προμηθεῦ, σῶν ὑπερστένω πόνων.

ΚΡΑΤΟΣ

σὺ δ' αὖ κατοκνεῖς τῶν Διὸς τ' ἐχθρῶν ὕπερ
στένειν; ὅπως μὴ σαυτὸν οἰκτιεῖς ποτε.

ΗΦΑΙΣΤΟΣ

ὁρᾷς θέαμα δυσθέατον ὄμμασιν;

ΚΡΑΤΟΣ

ὁρῶ κυροῦντα τόνδε τῶν ἐπαξίων.
χώρει κάτω, σκέλη δὲ κίρκωσον βίᾳ.

ΗΦΑΙΣΤΟΣ

καὶ δὴ πέπρακται τοὔργον οὐ μακρῷ πόνῳ.

ΚΡΑΤΟΣ

ἐρρωμένως νυν θεῖνε διατόρους πέδας,
ὡς οὐπιτιμητής γε τῶν ἔργων βαρύς.

ΗΦΑΙΣΤΟΣ

ὅμοια μορφῇ γλῶσσά σου γηρύεται.

HEPHAESTUS [*doing so*]
No one could justly find fault with me—except this one here.

POWER
Now drive the remorseless bite of the adamantine wedge with all your power right through his chest.

HEPHAESTUS [*as he reluctantly prepares to do so*]
Ah, Prometheus, I groan for your sufferings!

POWER
Hesitating again, are you? Grieving for the enemies of Zeus? Take care you don't have cause to pity yourself, one of these days!

HEPHAESTUS [*having fixed the wedge*]
Do you see this sight, hard for eyes to look on?

POWER
I see this fellow getting what he deserves. Move down, and hoop his legs strongly.

HEPHAESTUS [*doing so*]
There, the job is done; the work did not take long.

POWER
Now hammer in the pierced fetters[12] with all your strength; for your work is being assessed by a tough appraiser.[13]

HEPHAESTUS
Your tongue tells the same tale as your appearance.

[12] i.e. drive nails into the rock through the nail-holes in the metal band(s).

[13] Zeus.

ΚΡΑΤΟΣ

σὺ μαλθακίζου· τὴν δ' ἐμὴν αὐθαδίαν
ὀργῆς τε τραχυτῆτα μὴ 'πίπλησσέ μοι.

ΗΦΑΙΣΤΟΣ

στείχωμεν, ὡς κώλοισιν ἀμφίβληστρ' ἔχει.

ΚΡΑΤΟΣ

ἐνταῦθά νυν ὕβριζε καὶ θεῶν γέρα
συλῶν ἐφημέροισι προστίθει. τί σοι
οἷοί τε θνητοὶ τῶνδ' ἀπαντλῆσαι πόνων;
ψευδωνύμως σε δαίμονες Προμηθέα
καλοῦσιν· αὐτὸν γάρ σε δεῖ προμηθέως,
ὅτῳ τρόπῳ τῆσδ' ἐκκυλισθήσῃ τέχνης.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

ὦ δῖος αἰθὴρ καὶ ταχύπτεροι πνοαί,
ποταμῶν τε πηγαί, ποντίων τε κυμάτων
ἀνήριθμον γέλασμα, παμμήτωρ τε γῆ,
καὶ τὸν πανόπτην κύκλον ἡλίου καλῶ·
ἴδεσθέ μ' οἷα πρὸς θεῶν πάσχω θεός.

δέρχθηθ' οἵαις ἀκείαισιν
διακναιόμενος τὸν μυριέτη
χρόνον ἀθλεύσω·
τοιόνδ' ὁ νέος ταγὸς μακάρων
ἐξηῦρ' ἐπ' ἐμοὶ δεσμὸν ἀεικῆ.
φεῦ φεῦ, τὸ παρὸν τό τ' ἐπερχόμενον

POWER

You be soft if you want, but don't make it into a reproach to *me* that I am implacable and have a harsh temper.

HEPHAESTUS [*who has finished his work*]

The trap[14] is around his legs; let us go.

He leaves; POWER *and* VIOLENCE *remain.*

POWER

There now, practise your impudence here, robbing the gods of their prerogatives and handing them over to beings who live for a day. How are mortals going to be able to bail you out of these sufferings? The gods are wrong to call you Prometheus, "the Forethinker"; *you* now need someone to exercise forethought for you as to how you're going to wriggle out of this piece of handiwork.

POWER *and* VIOLENCE *depart.*

PROMETHEUS

O bright Sky, and you swift-flying winds, and river-springs, and you countless twinkling[15] waves of the sea, and Earth mother of all, behold what I, a god, am suffering at the hands of the gods!

Look, with what indignities
I am tormented, to endure
these trials for endless years!
Such a degrading bondage has been invented for me
by the new high commander of the Blest Ones.
Alas, I groan for my present suffering

14 lit. "fishing-net". 15 lit. "laughing".

πῆμα στενάχω· ποῖ ποτε μόχθων
χρὴ τέρματα τῶνδ' ἐπιτεῖλαι;

καίτοι τί φημι; πάντα προυξεπίσταμαι
σκεθρῶς τὰ μέλλοντ', οὐδέ μοι ποταίνιον
πῆμ' οὐδὲν ἥξει. τὴν πεπρωμένην δὲ χρὴ
αἶσαν φέρειν ὡς ῥᾷστα, γιγνώσκοντθ' ὅτι
τὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἔστ' ἀδήριτον σθένος.
ἀλλ' οὔτε σιγᾶν οὔτε μὴ σιγᾶν τύχας
οἷόν τέ μοι τάσδ' ἐστί. θνητοῖς γὰρ γέρα
πορὼν ἀνάγκαις ταῖσδ' ἐνέζευγμαι τάλας·
ναρθηκοπλήρωτον δὲ θηρῶμαι πυρὸς
πηγὴν κλοπαίαν, ἣ διδάσκαλος τέχνης
πάσης βροτοῖς πέφηνε καὶ μέγας πόρος.
τοιῶνδε ποινὰς ἀμπλακημάτων τίνω
ὑπαίθριος δεσμοῖς πεπασσαλευμένος.

ἆ ἆ ἔα ἔα·
τίς ἀχώ, τίς ὀδμὰ προσέπτα μ' ἀφεγγής,
θεόσυτος, ἢ βρότειος, ἢ κεκραμένη;
ἵκετο τερμόνιόν ‹τις› ἐπὶ πάγον
πόνων ἐμῶν θεωρός, ἢ τί δὴ θέλων;
ὁρᾶτε δεσμώτην με, δύσποτμον θεόν,
τὸν Διὸς ἐχθρόν, τὸν πᾶσι θεοῖς
δι' ἀπεχθείας ἐλθόνθ', ὁπόσοι

109 δὲ *θηρῶμαι* codd.: δεδώρημαι van der Ben.
112 *τοιῶνδε* Pearson: *τοιάσδε* codd.

and for that which is coming: where can one fix
a limit for these sorrows?

But what am I saying? I have precise foreknowledge of all that will happen: none of my sufferings will come as a surprise. I must bear my destined fate as easily as may be, knowing that the power of Necessity is unchallengeable. And yet it is impossible for me either to keep silence or to speak about my fortunes. I am in this wretchedness, yoked in these constraining bonds, because I gave privileges to mortals: I hunted for, and stole, a source of fire, putting it into a fennel-stalk,[16] and it has shown itself to be mortals' great resource and their teacher of every skill. Such is the offence for which I am paying this penalty, pinned in these bonds under the open sky.

[*Suddenly*] Hey, what is that?
What sound, what scent has been wafted to me, unseen,
from gods, from mortals, or from both together?
Has someone come to this rock at the end of the world
to be a spectator of my sufferings—or what do they
want?
Behold me, the prisoner, the god in misery,
the enemy of Zeus, who incurred
the hostility of all the gods

[16] Cf. Hesiod, *Theogony* 565–7.

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113 δεσμοῖς Haupt, πεπασσαλ- Auratus: δεσμοῖσι πασσαλ- codd.

117 ‹τις› Pauw: om. codd.

τὴν Διὸς αὐλὴν εἰσοιχνεῦσιν,
διὰ τὴν λίαν φιλότητα βροτῶν.
φεῦ φεῦ, τί ποτ' αὖ κινάθισμα κλύω
πέλας οἰωνῶν; αἰθὴρ δ' ἐλαφραῖς
πτερύγων ῥιπαῖς ὑποσυρίζει·
πᾶν μοι φοβερὸν τὸ προσέρπον.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

στρ. α μηδὲν φοβηθῇς· φιλία γὰρ ἅδε τάξις
πτερύγων θοαῖς ἁμίλλαις
προσέβα τόνδε πάγον, πατρῴας
μόγις παρειποῦσα φρένας·
κραιπνοφόροι δέ μ' ἔπεμψαν αὖραι.
κτύπου γὰρ ἀχὼ χάλυβος διῆξεν ἄντρων
μυχόν, ἐκ δ' ἔπληξέ μου τὰν θεμερῶπιν αἰδῶ·
σύθην δ' ἀπέδιλος ὄχῳ πτερωτῷ.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΤΣ

αἰαῖ αἰαῖ·
τῆς πολυτέκνου Τηθύος ἔκγονα
τοῦ περὶ πᾶσάν θ' εἱλισσομένου
χθόν' ἀκοιμήτῳ ῥεύματι παῖδες

136 *aî* (or *aï*) four times *x z*: three times M I: twice *b k*.

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[17] How was this entry staged? Not with the *mēchanē*: it could not carry a whole chorus, and it will be needed for Oceanus very shortly after the chorus have left their "vehicle". The car(s) must either be (i) rolled out on to the flat roof-space of the *skēnē* or (ii)

who enter Zeus's courts
through being too friendly to mortals!
Ah, ah, what is this rustling sound of birds
that I now hear close by? The air is whistling
with the light beating of wings.
Whatever approaches me makes me fearful!

Enter the CHORUS *of nymphs, daughters of Oceanus, seated in a winged vehicle or vehicles.*[17]

CHORUS

Have no fear: this is a friendly company
that has come to this rock
on swift, striving wings, having with difficulty
persuaded our father to consent.
The swift breezes have borne and sped me here;
for the sound of stroke on steel penetrated to the depths
of my cave, and shocked my grave-faced modesty out of
me;
and I hurried here, unshod, in a winged car.

PROMETHEUS

Ah me, ah me!
Offspring of prolific Tethys,[18]
children of father Oceanus,
who rolls round the whole earth

simply brought into the *orchestra* (pushed on by some of the chorus, while others ride in them?). Neither alternative is free of difficulties, but (i) makes better sense of 277–283.

[18] According to Hesiod, *Theogony* 364–8, Oceanus and Tethys had three thousand daughters and as many sons.

πατρὸς Ὠκεανοῦ,
δέρχθητ', ἐσίδεσθ' οἵῳ δεσμῷ
προσπόρπατος
τῆσδε φάραγγος σκοπέλοις ἐν ἄκροις
φρουρὰν ἄζηλον ὀχήσω.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἀντ. α λεύσσω, Προμηθεῦ· φοβερὰ δ' ἐμοῖσιν ὄσσοις
ὀμίχλα προσῆξε πλήρης
δακρύων σὸν δέμας εἰσιδούσᾳ
πέτρᾳ προσαυαινόμενον
ταῖσδ' ἀδαμαντοδέτοισι λύμαις.
νέοι γὰρ οἰακονόμοι κρατοῦσ' Ὀλύμπου,
νεοχμοῖς δὲ δὴ νόμοις Ζεὺς ἀθέτως κρατύνει·
τὰ πρὶν δὲ πελώρια νῦν ἀϊστοῖ.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

εἰ γάρ μ' ὑπὸ γῆν
νέρθεν θ' Ἅιδου τοῦ νεκροδέγμονος
εἰς ἀπέραντον Τάρταρον ἦκεν,
δεσμοῖς ἀλύτοις ἀγρίως πελάσας,
ὡς μήτε θεὸς μήτε τις ἄλλος
τοῖσδ' ἐπεγάθει·
νῦν δ' αἰθέριον κίνυγμ' ὁ τάλας
ἐχθροῖς ἐπίχαρτα πέπονθα.

148 *ταῖσδ'* Victorius: *ταῖς* codd.
150 *ἀθέτως t*: *ἀθέσμως* codd. 156 *ὡς μήτε x z*: *ὡς μήτέ τις k*: *ὡς μήποτε* (*μή* om. I^{ac}) M I *b k*.
157 *ἐπεγάθει* Wecklein: *ἐπεγήθει* M I *b k*: *ἐπιγήθει* (or *-θη*) *b k*: *ἐπιγεγήθη b*: *ἐγεγήθει b*, but *ἐπ-* is confirmed by $\Sigma^{M\Phi}$.

in tireless flood,[19]
look, see in what bonds
I am pinned
to the topmost cliffs of this ravine
to keep an unenviable watch!

CHORUS

I see, Prometheus; and fear brings rushing into my eyes
a mist full of tears
on seeing you
left here to wither, bound to this rock
by these degrading bonds of adamant.
New rulers wield the helm on Olympus,
and Zeus rules arbitrarily by new-made laws;
what once was mighty he now casts into oblivion.

PROMETHEUS

Would that he had cast me
below the earth, below Hades who welcomes the dead,
into boundless Tartarus,
and cruelly fixed me there with unbreakable chains,
so that no god nor any other being
could gloat over these afflictions!
As it is, I wretchedly endure the buffeting
of the winds high up, to my enemies' delight.

[19] That Prometheus knows who the Oceanids are suggests that he can see them, which would tell against the suggestion that they are on the *skēnē* roof (cf. n. 17). But he may be supposed to infer their identity from the fact that they are sisters, divine (since they can fly) and live in a cave; the same, admittedly, would be true of Nereids, but the Nereids are daughters of one of the Oceanids (Hesiod, *Theogony* 240–2), and perhaps we are meant to assume (if we think about the matter) that they have yet to be born.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

στρ. β τίς ὧδε τλησικάρδιος
θεῶν, ὅτῳ τάδ' ἐπιχαρῆ;
τίς οὐ ξυνασχαλᾷ κακοῖς
τεοῖσι, δίχα γε Διός; ὁ δ' ἐπικότως ἀεὶ
θέμενος ἄγναμπτον νόον
δάμναται Οὐρανίαν γένναν, οὐδὲ λήξει
πρὶν ἂν ἢ κορέσῃ κέαρ ἢ παλάμᾳ τινὶ
τὰν δυσάλωτον ἕλῃ τις ἀρχάν.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

ἦ μὴν ἔτ' ἐμοῦ καίπερ κρατεραῖς
ἐν γυιοπέδαις ᾀκιζομένου
χρείαν ἕξει μακάρων πρύτανις,
δεῖξαι τὸ νέον βούλευμ' ὑφ' ὅτου
σκῆπτρον τιμάς τ' ἀποσυλᾶται.
καί μ' οὔτι μελιγλώσσοις πειθοῦς
ἐπαοιδαῖσιν
θέλξει, στερεάς τ' οὔποτ' ἀπειλὰς
πτήξας τόδ' ἐγὼ καταμηνύσω,
πρὶν ἂν ἐξ ἀγρίων δεσμῶν χαλάσῃ
ποινάς τε τίνειν
τῆσδ' ᾀκείας ἐθελήσῃ.

176 τε *z*: τέ μοι or τ' ἐμοὶ M I *b k*.

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20 i.e. the Titans, children of Uranus and Gaea. For the statement to have any relevance, Prometheus must himself be one of

CHORUS

What god is so hard-hearted
as to take delight in this?
Who does not share the distress
of your sufferings—except for Zeus? He, with constant anger,
making his resolve inflexible,
is conquering the sons of Uranus,[20] nor will he stop
till either he has glutted his desires, or by some contrivance
another takes his power—which is hard to take.

PROMETHEUS

I tell you that even though my limbs are held
in these strong, degrading fetters,
the president of the immortals[21] will yet have need of me,
to reveal the new plan by which
he can be robbed of his sceptre and his privileges;
and he will not charm me
by the honey-tongued spells
of persuasion, nor will I ever disclose it
in terror of harsh menaces,
until he releases me from these savage bonds
and consents to pay compensation
for this degrading treatment.

them, though we are never directly told so in this play (cf. however fr. 193.1–2, from *Prometheus Unbound*).

21 Cf. Thomas Hardy, *Tess of the d'Urbervilles, sub finem*: "the President of the Immortals, in Æschylean phrase, had ended his sport with Tess."

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἀντ. β σὺ μὲν θρασύς τε καὶ πικραῖς
δύαισιν οὐδὲν ἐπιχαλᾷς,
ἄγαν δ' ἐλευθεροστομεῖς.
ἐμᾶς δὲ φρένας ἠρέθισε διάτορος φόβος,
δέδια δ' ἀμφὶ σαῖς τύχαις,
ποῖ ποτε τῶνδε πόνων χρή σε τέρμα κέλσαντ'
ἐσιδεῖν· ἀκίχητα γὰρ ἤθεα καὶ κέαρ
ἀπαράμυθον ἔχει Κρόνου παῖς.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

τραχύς γ', οἶδ' ὅτι, καὶ παρ' ἑαυτῷ
τὸ δίκαιον ἔχων· ἔμπας δ', οἴω,
μαλακογνώμων
ἔσται ποθ', ὅταν ταύτῃ ῥαισθῇ·
τὴν δ' ἀτέραμνον στορέσας ὀργὴν
εἰς ἀρθμὸν ἐμοὶ καὶ φιλότητα
σπεύδων σπεύδοντί ποθ' ἥξει.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

πάντ' ἐκκάλυψον καὶ γέγων' ἡμῖν λόγον,
ποίῳ λαβών σε Ζεὺς ἐπ' αἰτιάματι
οὕτως ἀτίμως καὶ πικρῶς ᾐκίζεται·
δίδαξον ἡμᾶς, εἴ τι μὴ βλάπτῃ λόγῳ.

182 δ' *z*: γὰρ M I *b k*.
183 ποῖ ΣΦ: ὅποι *k*: ὅπα(ι) M I *b k*: ὅπη *b k*.
185 ἀπαρα- *b k*: οὐ παρα- M I *b k*.
186 τραχύς γ' οἶδ' ὅτι Headlam: οἶδ' ὅτι (ὡς *b'*) τραχύς (θρασύς *b' k*) τε (om. *b'*) codd.

CHORUS

You are audacious and unyielding
in the face of these bitter pains,
and you speak too freely.
A piercing fear agitates my mind,
and I am afraid what may befall you:
where are you ever to reach harbour and see a limit
to these sufferings? For the son of Cronus has a
character
that is immovable, a heart that is inexorable.

PROMETHEUS

He is harsh, I know, and makes justice
as he pleases;[22] all the same, I fancy,
his mind will one day
be softened, when he is shattered in the way I spoke of:
one day he will calm his stubborn wrath
and come into unity and friendship with me,
as eager for it as I will be.

CHORUS

Tell us everything and reveal the story: on what accusation did Zeus arrest you, to abuse you in such a cruel and degrading way? Explain it to us, if it doesn't harm you to do so.

[22] lit. "keeps justice with himself", i.e. determines arbitrarily, to suit his own interest, what counts as just and what as unjust.

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187 ἔχων Bothe: ἔχων Ζεύς codd.
187 ἔμπας δ' Griffith: ἔμπας Bothe: ἀλλ' ἔμπας codd.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

ἀλγεινὰ μέν μοι καὶ λέγειν ἐστὶν τάδε,
ἄλγος δὲ σιγᾶν· πανταχῇ δὲ δύσποτμα.
ἐπεὶ τάχιστ' ἤρξαντο δαίμονες χόλου
στάσις τ' ἐν ἀλλήλοισιν ὠροθύνετο,
οἱ μὲν θέλοντες ἐκβαλεῖν ἕδρας Κρόνον,
ὡς Ζεὺς ἀνάσσοι δῆθεν, οἱ δὲ τοὔμπαλιν
σπεύδοντες ὡς Ζεὺς μήποτ' ἄρξειεν θεῶν,
ἐνταῦθ' ἐγὼ τὰ λῷστα βουλεύων πιθεῖν
Τιτᾶνας, Οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ Χθονὸς τέκνα,
οὐκ ἠδυνήθην· αἱμύλας δὲ μηχανὰς
ἀτιμάσαντες καρτεροῖς φρονήμασιν
ᾤοντ' ἀμοχθεὶ πρὸς βίαν τε δεσπόσειν·
ἐμοὶ δὲ μήτηρ οὐχ ἅπαξ μόνον Θέμις
καὶ Γαῖα, πολλῶν ὀνομάτων μορφὴ μία,
τὸ μέλλον ᾗ κραίνοιτο προυτεθεσπίκει,
ὡς οὐ κατ' ἰσχὺν οὐδὲ πρὸς τὸ καρτερὸν
χρείη, δόλῳ δὲ τοὺς ὑπερσχόντας κρατεῖν.
τοιαῦτ' ἐμοῦ λόγοισιν ἐξηγουμένου
οὐκ ἠξίωσαν οὐδὲ προσβλέψαι τὸ πᾶν.

213 χρείη Pearson: χρεῖ᾽ ἦ I *k* M²: χρῃ,ἦ vel sim. M γρ I *b k*.
213 ὑπερσχόντας Musgrave: ὑπερέχοντας M I *b k*: ὑπερέξοντας *k*.

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23 i.e. Heaven and Earth. The goddess Earth is actually here called Χθών (as in *Eum.* 6), but Γαῖα in 210.

24 This identification is almost certainly an *ad hoc* invention; it is otherwise attested only by the existence in Roman Athens of a

PROMETHEUS

It is painful for me even to speak of these things, but it is also painful to keep silent: it is wretched either way. As soon as the gods began to quarrel and mutual strife was stirred up among them, some wishing to depose Cronus from his throne—so that Zeus could reign, forsooth!—while those on the other side were determined that Zeus should never rule over the gods, at that time I gave the best advice to the Titans, the children of Uranus and Gaea,[23] but could not persuade them. They despised ingenious stratagems, and in the pride of their strength they thought they could retain control with ease by brute force. But my mother Themis, also called Gaea—one person under multiple names[24]—had more than once prophesied to me how the future would come to pass, saying that it was destined that the victors should be those who excelled not in might nor in power but in guile.[25] I spoke to them explaining this, but they simply did not see fit even to look at the idea. Well,

priestess of Γῆ Θέμις (*IG* ii² 5130). The poet wanted Prometheus to be one of the Titans (cf. note on 165), but also wanted his mother to be Themis, a prophetic goddess (cf. *Eum.* 2–4; Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris* 1259–69) who according to Pindar (*Isthmian* 8.30–45) alone had knowledge that the son of Thetis was destined to be mightier than his father. Traditionally Themis was *daughter* of Gaea (and Uranus) (Hesiod, *Theogony* 135).

[25] In Hesiod, *Theogony* 626–8, Gaea is said to have advised Zeus and the Olympians to release from their underground imprisonment Briareus, Cottus and Gyges (the "Hundred-handers"), who played a decisive role (though they used force, not guile!) in the final defeat of the Titans (*ibid.* 669–675, 713–720).

κράτιστα δή μοι τῶν παρεστώτων τότε
ἐφαίνετ' εἶναι προσλαβόντα μητέρα
ἑκόνθ' ἑκόντι Ζηνὶ συμπαραστατεῖν·
ἐμαῖς δὲ βουλαῖς Ταρτάρου μελαμβαθὴς
κευθμὼν καλύπτει τὸν παλαιγενῆ Κρόνον
αὐτοῖσι συμμάχοισι. τοιάδ' ἐξ ἐμοῦ
ὁ τῶν θεῶν τύραννος ὠφελημένος
κακαῖσι τιμαῖς ταῖσδέ μ' ἐξημείψατο.
ἔνεστι γάρ πως τοῦτο τῇ τυραννίδι
νόσημα, τοῖς φίλοισι μὴ πεποιθέναι.
ὃ δ' οὖν ἐρωτᾶτ', αἰτίαν καθ' ἥντινα
ᾐκίζεταί με, τοῦτο δὴ σαφηνιῶ.
ὅπως τάχιστα τὸν πατρῷον εἰς θρόνον
καθέζετ', εὐθὺς δαίμοσιν νέμει γέρα
ἄλλοισιν ἄλλα, καὶ διεστοιχίζετο
ἀρχήν· βροτῶν δὲ τῶν ταλαιπώρων λόγον
οὐκ ἔσχεν οὐδέν', ἀλλ' ἀιστώσας γένος
τὸ πᾶν ἔχρῃζεν ἄλλο φιτῦσαι νέον.
καὶ τοῖσιν οὐδεὶς ἀντέβαινε πλὴν ἐμοῦ,
ἐγὼ δ' ἐτόλμησ', ἔκ τ' ἐλυσάμην βροτοὺς
τὸ μὴ διαρραισθέντας εἰς Ἅιδου μολεῖν.
τῶ τοι τοιαῖσδε πημοναῖσι κάμπτομαι,
πάσχειν μὲν ἀλγεινοῖσιν, οἰκτραῖσιν δ' ἰδεῖν·
θνητοὺς δ' ἐν οἴκτῳ προθέμενος, τούτου τυχεῖν

217 προσλάβοντα *k*: προσλαβόντι M I *b k*.
223 τιμαῖς *b*: ποιναῖς M I *b k* ΣΦ.
235 δ' ἐτόλμησ' γρΣM: δὲ τόλμησ' M *b*: δὲ τολμῆς Iac γρΣM: δὲ τόλμης or δὲ τόλμας *b k*: δ' ὁ τόλμης Ipc *b k* ΣΦ.

it then seemed to me the best of the available options to stand beside Zeus in an alliance that both parties welcomed, taking my mother with me; and by my counsels the black depths of Tartarus' recesses now cover Cronus of ancient birth together with those who fought beside him. Such are the benefits that the autocrat of the gods has received from me, and this is the evil reward with which he has recompensed me! It seems that this malady is built into autocracy, that of not trusting one's friends. But as to the question you ask, what is the cause of his thus degrading me, I will now explain it. As soon as he took his seat on his father's throne, he immediately assigned to the various gods their various privileges,[26] and organized his government; but of those wretched creatures, mortals, he took no account at all—on the contrary, he wanted to obliterate the race altogether and create another new one. And no one resisted that plan except me. I had the courage to do it, and rescued mortals from the fate of being shattered and going to Hades.[27] And that, you see, is why I am being racked by these torments, agonizing to suffer and piteous to see. I took special pity on mortals, but was not held to merit it

[26] Cf. Hesiod, *Theogony* 885.

[27] Prometheus was the helper god in the Greek version of the Flood story; his role is first attested in Epicharmus' comedy *Prometheus or Pyrrha*, but must be older than that (cf. Hesiod fr. 2). Here, however, "shattered" may indicate that we are to assume Zeus to have been planning a cataclysm of some other kind.

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235 ἕκ τ' ἐλυσάμην Sommerstein (ἐκ δ' ἐλ- Hutchinson): ἐξελυσάμην M I *k* $^{i}\Sigma^{\Phi}$: ἐξερ(ρ)υσάμην *b k*.

οὐκ ἠξιώθην αὐτός, ἀλλὰ νηλεῶς
ὧδ' ἐρρύθμισμαι, Ζηνὶ δυσκλεὴς θέα.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

σιδηρόφρων γε κἀκ πέτρας εἰργασμένος
ὅστις, Προμηθεῦ, σοῖσιν οὐ ξυνασχαλᾷ
μόχθοις· ἐγὼ γὰρ οὔτ' ἂν εἰσιδεῖν τάδε
ἔχρῃζον, εἰσιδοῦσά τ' ἠλγύνθην κέαρ.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

καὶ μὴν φίλοις ἐλεινὸς εἰσορᾶν ἐγώ.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

μή πού τι προύβης τῶνδε καὶ περαιτέρω;

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

θνητούς γ' ἔπαυσα μὴ προδέρκεσθαι μόρον.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

τὸ ποῖον εὑρὼν τῆσδε φάρμακον νόσου;

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

τυφλὰς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐλπίδας κατῴκισα.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

μέγ' ὠφέλημα τοῦτ' ἐδωρήσω βροτοῖς.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

πρὸς τοῖσδε μέντοι πῦρ ἐγώ σφιν ὥπασα.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

καὶ νῦν φλογωπὸν πῦρ ἔχουσ' ἐφήμεροι;

240 ἀλλὰ νηλεῶς *x*: ἀλλ' ἀνηλεῶς M I *b k*.
242 γε West: τε codd. *t*.

myself; instead I have been disciplined in this merciless way, a sight to bring disgrace on Zeus.

CHORUS

One would have to be made of stone and have a soul of iron, Prometheus, not to share the distress of your affliction. I would not have wished to see it, and now that I have seen it, I am pained to the heart.

PROMETHEUS

Yes, I certainly am pitiable for friends to behold.

CHORUS

You didn't, I suppose, go even further than that?

PROMETHEUS

I did: I stopped mortals foreseeing their death.[28]

CHORUS

What remedy did you find for that affliction?

PROMETHEUS

I planted blind hopes within them.

CHORUS

That was a great benefit you gave to mortals.

PROMETHEUS

And what is more, I gave them fire.

CHORUS

You mean those short-lived beings now possess flaming fire?

[28] i.e. knowing in advance just when they would die.

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245 ἠλγύνθην *b k*: ἀλγύνθην M I *b*.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

ἀφ᾽ οὗ γε πολλὰς ἐκμαθήσονται τέχνας.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

255 τοιοῖσδε δή σε Ζεὺς ἐπ᾽ αἰτιάμασιν—

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

ᾀκίζεταί γε, κοὐδαμῇ χαλᾷ κακῶν.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

οὐδ᾽ ἐστὶν ἄθλου τέρμα σοι προκείμενον;

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

οὐκ ἄλλο γ᾽ οὐδέν, πλὴν ὅταν κείνῳ δοκῇ.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

δόξει δὲ πῶς; τίς ἐλπίς; οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅτι

260 ἥμαρτες; ὡς δ᾽ ἥμαρτες, οὔτ᾽ ἐμοὶ λέγειν
καθ᾽ ἡδονήν, σοί τ᾽ ἄλγος. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν
μεθῶμεν, ἄθλου δ᾽ ἔκλυσιν ζήτει τινά.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

ἐλαφρόν, ὅστις πημάτων ἔξω πόδα
ἔχει, παραινεῖν νουθετεῖν τε τὸν κακῶς

265 πράσσοντ᾽. ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦθ᾽ ἅπαντ᾽ ἠπιστάμην.
ἑκὼν ἑκὼν ἥμαρτον, οὐκ ἀρνήσομαι·
θνητοῖς ἀρήγων αὐτὸς ηὑρόμην πόνους.
οὐ μήν τι ποιναῖς γ᾽ ᾠόμην τοίαισί με
κατισχνανεῖσθαι πρὸς πέτραις πεδαρσίοις

270 τυχόντ᾽ ἐρήμου τοῦδ᾽ ἀγείτονος πάγου.

256 γε Ribbeck: τε M I *b k*: σε *b k*: om. *b*.

PROMETHEUS

From which they will learn many skills.

CHORUS

And those are the offences for which Zeus—

PROMETHEUS

Is degrading me, and is not relaxing my suffering in the least.

CHORUS

And has no end been set for your trials?

PROMETHEUS

No end at all, other than "when such be his will".

CHORUS

And how can it possibly ever *be* his will? What hope is there? Don't you see you were wrong? To say you were wrong is no pleasure to me, and it's painful for you. Let us leave that matter: look for some means of release from your torment.

PROMETHEUS

It's very easy for someone who is standing safely out of trouble to advise and rebuke the one who is *in* trouble. I knew all that, all along. I did the wrong thing intentionally, intentionally, I won't deny it: by helping mortals, I brought trouble on myself. But I certainly never thought I would have a punishment anything like this, left to wither on these elevated rocks, my lot cast on this deserted, neigh-

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264–5 τὸν . . . πράσσοντ' Pearson: τοὺς . . . πράσσοντας codd.

269 κατισχναν- *b*: κατισχαν- M I *b k* ΣΦ.

καί μοι τὰ μὲν παρόντα μὴ δύρεσθ' ἄχη,
πέδοι δὲ βᾶσαι τὰς προσερπούσας τύχας
ἀκούσαθ', ὡς μάθητε διὰ τέλους τὸ πᾶν.
πίθεσθέ μοι, πίθεσθε, συμπονήσατε
τῷ νῦν μογοῦντι· πάντα τοι πλανωμένη
πρὸς ἄλλοτ' ἄλλον πημονὴ προσιζάνει.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

οὐχ ἀκούσαις ἐπεθώυξας
τοῦτο, Προμηθεῦ·
καὶ νῦν ἐλαφρῷ ποδὶ κραιπνόσυτον
θᾶκον προλιποῦσ'
αἰθέρα θ' ἁγνόν, πόρον οἰωνῶν,
ὀκριοέσσῃ χθονὶ τῇδε πελῶ·
τοὺς σοὺς δὲ πόνους
χρῄζω διὰ παντὸς ἀκοῦσαι.

ΩΚΕΑΝΟΣ

ἥκω δολιχῆς τέρμα κελεύθου
διαμειψάμενος πρὸς σέ, Προμηθεῦ,
τὸν πτερυγώκη τόνδ' οἰωνὸν
γνώμῃ στομίων ἄτερ εὐθύνων.

274 *πίθεσθέ . . . πίθεσθε* Elmsley: *πείθεσθέ . . . πείθεσθε* codd.

275 *πάντας* an Herwerden: *ταῦτα* codd.: *ταὐτὰ* Σ^{M}.

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[29] If they have been on the *skēnē* roof (see notes on 128 and 140), they must presumably disappear into the *skēnē*, to re-enter later (after 396, there being no earlier opportunity) by a side-passage. This is a decidedly artificial arrangement, but at least avoids

bourless crag. Now stop lamenting my present woes: descend to the ground and hear of my future fortunes, so that you will know it all to the end. Do as I ask, do as I ask. Share the suffering of one who is in trouble now: misery, you know, wanders everywhere, and alights on different persons at different times.

CHORUS

We receive your call
willingly, Prometheus,
and now with light foot I shall leave
my seat in this swift-moving car
and the pure upper air, the pathway of birds,
and approach this rugged earth below:
I want to hear
the tale of your troubles to the end.

As the CHORUS *are descending,*[29] OCEANUS *enters, flying on a winged steed.*[30]

OCEANUS

After traversing a long journey
I have finally reached you, Prometheus;
I steered this swift-winged bird
by mental power, without rein or bit.

having Oceanus and his daughters together on stage for 113 lines during which he takes no notice of them nor they of him.

[30] He calls it a "bird" at 286 and a "four-legged bird" at 395, which suggests that it is not just a winged horse but, as the scholia assume, something like a griffin (γρύψ), which had the body of a lion and the wings and beak of an eagle (Aristeas of Proconnesus ap. Pausanias 1.24.6).

ταῖς σαῖς δὲ τύχαις, ἴσθι, συναλγῶ·
τό τε γάρ με, δοκῶ, ξυγγενὲς οὕτως
ἐπαναγκάζει,
χωρίς τε γένους οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτῳ
μείζονα μοῖραν νείμαιμ' ἢ σοί.
γνώσῃ δὲ τάδ' ὡς ἔτυμ', οὐδὲ μάτην
χαριτογλωσσεῖν ἔνι μοι· φέρε γάρ,
σήμαιν' ὅ τι χρή σοι ξυμπράσσειν·
οὐ γάρ ποτ' ἐρεῖς ὡς Ὠκεανοῦ
φίλος ἐστὶ βεβαιότερός σοι.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

ἔα, τί χρῆμα; καὶ σὺ δὴ πόνων ἐμῶν
ἥκεις ἐπόπτης; πῶς ἐτόλμησας λιπὼν
ἐπώνυμόν τε ῥεῦμα καὶ πετρηρεφῆ
αὐτόκτιτ' ἄντρα τὴν σιδηρομήτορα
ἐλθεῖν ἐς αἶαν; ἦ θεωρήσων τύχας
ἐμὰς ἀφῖξαι καὶ ξυνασχαλῶν κακοῖς;
δέρκου θέαμα, τόνδε τὸν Διὸς φίλον,
τὸν ξυγκαταστήσαντα τὴν τυραννίδα,
οἵαις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πημοναῖσι κάμπτομαι.

ΩΚΕΑΝΟΣ

ὁρῶ, Προμηθεῦ, καὶ παραινέσαι γέ σοι
θέλω τὰ λῷστα, καίπερ ὄντι ποικίλῳ.
γίγνωσκε σαυτὸν καὶ μεθάρμοσαι τρόπους
νέους· νέος γὰρ καὶ τύραννος ἐν θεοῖς.

293 *μάτην z*, Athenaeus 4.165c: *μάτην σὲ* I *b k*: *μάτην σὲ τὸ* M: *μάτην σοὶ b k* $^{i}\Sigma^{M}$ Σ^{Φ}.

I share the pain of your misfortunes, I assure you;
our kinship, I feel, compels me to do so,[31]
and quite apart from that, there is no one to whom
I would pay greater respect than to you.
I will prove to you that this is true, and that it is not
in my nature to speak pleasant but empty words.
Come now, tell me what should be done to help you:
you will never say that you have
a firmer friend than Oceanus.

PROMETHEUS

Here, what is this? Have you too come to be a spectator of my sufferings? How did you dare to leave the stream that bears your name, and your self-built, rock-roofed cavern, and come to this land,[32] the mother of iron? Have you come to see what has happened to me, and to share my distress? Behold the spectacle, then—me, the friend of Zeus, who helped establish his autocracy, what torments I am now racked with at his hands!

OCEANUS

I see it, Prometheus; and I also want to give you advice, the best advice, cunning though you are. Know yourself[33] and change to a new pattern of behaviour, because there is also a new autocrat in the gods' realm. If you go on hurling out

31 Oceanus was the eldest child of Uranus and Gaea (Hesiod, *Theogony* 133).

32 Scythia (cf. 2 and *Seven* 728–730).

33 i.e. (as this famous maxim often implies) "know your limitations".

εἰ δ' ὧδε τραχεῖς καὶ τεθηγμένους λόγους
ῥίψεις, τάχ' ἄν σου καὶ μακρὰν ἀνωτέρω
θακῶν κλύοι Ζεύς, ὥστε σοι τὸν νῦν ὄχλον
παρόντα μόχθων παιδιὰν εἶναι δοκεῖν.
ἀλλ', ὦ ταλαίπωρ', ἃς ἔχεις ὀργὰς ἄφες,
ζητεῖν δὲ τῶνδε πημάτων ἀπαλλαγάς.
ἀρχαῖ' ἴσως σοι φαίνομαι λέγειν τάδε·
τοιαῦτα μέντοι τῆς ἄγαν ὑψηγόρου
γλώσσης, Προμηθεῦ, τἀπίχειρα γίγνεται.
σὺ δ' οὐδέπω ταπεινός, οὐδ' εἴκεις κακοῖς,
πρὸς τοῖς παροῦσι δ' ἄλλα προσλαβεῖν θέλεις;
οὔκουν ἔμοιγε χρώμενος διδασκάλῳ
πρὸς κέντρα κῶλον ἐκτενεῖς, ὁρῶν ὅτι
τραχὺς μόναρχος οὐδ' ὑπεύθυνος κρατεῖ.
καὶ νῦν ἐγὼ μὲν εἶμι καὶ πειράσομαι
ἐὰν δύνωμαι τῶνδέ σ' ἐκλῦσαι πόνων·
σὺ δ' ἡσύχαζε μηδ' ἄγαν λαβροστόμει.
ἢ οὐκ οἶσθ' ἀκριβῶς, ὢν περισσόφρων, ὅτι
γλώσσῃ ματαίᾳ ζημία προστρίβεται;

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

ζηλῶ σ' ὀθούνεκ' ἐκτὸς αἰτίας κυρεῖς,
πόνων μετασχεῖν οὐ τετολμηκὼς ἐμοί.
καὶ νῦν ἔασον, μηδέ σοι μελησάτω·
πάντως γὰρ οὐ πείσεις νιν· οὐ γὰρ εὐπιθής.
πάπταινε δ' αὐτὸς μή τι πημανθῇς ὁδῷ.

ΩΚΕΑΝΟΣ

πολλῷ γ' ἀμείνων τοὺς πέλας φρενοῦν ἔφυς

such sharp and savage words, Zeus, though he sits far above, may well hear you, with the result that the crowd of miseries you have at present will seem like child's play. Cast off the temper you have, poor suffering one, and look for a way to escape these troubles. What I am going to say may seem to you rather hackneyed, but these, Prometheus, *are* the wages of an over-arrogant tongue. Are you still not humbled, not yielding to your troubles? Do you want to get more of them, on top of what you have? Well, if you accept me as your adviser, you won't kick out against the goad, being aware that we have a harsh monarch holding irresponsible[34] power. Now I will go and try to see if I can get you released from these sufferings. You keep quiet and don't speak too impetuously; or do you not know very well, exceptionally intelligent as you are, that foolish words lead to punishment being inflicted?

PROMETHEUS

I congratulate you on being safe from accusation, not having dared to share in my efforts. Leave the thing alone now, too; don't get involved in it. In any case you won't persuade him, because he's not easy to persuade. And look out for yourself, in case your journey brings you some grief.

OCEANUS

You're much better at admonishing others than you are at

[34] lit. "not required to render account".

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313 ὄχλον Doederlein: χόλον codd.

331 πόνων μεταστχεῖν Weil, οὐ Denniston: πάντων μεταστχὼν καὶ codd.

ἢ σαυτόν· ἔργῳ κοὐ λόγῳ τεκμαίρομαι.
ὁρμώμενον δὲ μηδαμῶς ἀντισπάσῃς·
αὐχῶ γὰρ αὐχῶ τήνδε δωρειὰν ἐμοὶ
δώσειν Δί', ὥστε τῶνδέ σ' ἐκλῦσαι πόνων.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

τὰ μέν σ' ἐπαινῶ κοὔ τι μὴ λήξω ποτέ·
προθυμίας γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐλλείπεις· ἀτὰρ
μηδὲν πόνει· μάτην γὰρ οὐδὲν ὠφελῶν
ἐμοὶ πονήσεις, εἴ τι καὶ πονεῖν θέλεις.
ἀλλ' ἡσύχαζε σαυτὸν ἐκποδὼν ἔχειν·
ἐγὼ γὰρ οὔ, κεἰ δυστυχῶ, τοῦδ' οὕνεκα
θέλοιμ' ἂν ὡς πλείστοισι πημονὰς τυχεῖν.
οὐ δῆτ', ἐπεί με καὶ κασίγνητου τύχαι
τείρουσ' Ἄτλαντος, ὃς πρὸς ἑσπέρους τόπους
ἕστηκε κίον' οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ χθονὸς
ὤμοις ἐρείδων, ἄχθος οὐκ εὐάγκαλον·
τὸν γηγενῆ τε Κιλικίων οἰκήτορα
ἄντρων ἰδὼν ᾤκτιρα, δάιον τέρας
ἑκατογκάρανον, πρὸς βίαν χειρούμενον,
Τυφῶνα θοῦρον, †πᾶσιν ὃς† ἀντέστη θεοῖς,

340 κοὔ τι μὴ Nauck: κοὐδὲ μὴ M I *b k*: κοὐ μὴ δὲ *b*: κοὐ μὴ *b*: κοὐδαμῇ *k*.

345 οὐ κεἰ *k*: κεἰ *b k*: εἰ καὶ *b*: cf. ΣΦ καὶ ἐὰν δυστυχῶ: εἰ *b*: οὐκ εἰ M I *b k*.

353 ἑκατογκάρ- Pauw: ἑκατοντακάρ- I *b k*: ἑκατοντοκάρ- M *b*.

354 πᾶσιν ὃς M I *b k*: ὃς πᾶσιν *b k*: θεὸς ὃς Headlam: ὅσπερ West: perh. ὅς ‹ποτ'› (θεοῖς ὃς ἀντέστη ποτέ Blaydes).

admonishing yourself: I judge that by facts, not by words.[35] But I am determined to go; don't drag me back. I tell you, I tell you that Zeus will grant me this boon, so as to release you from these sufferings.

PROMETHEUS

I thank you for that, and I shall never cease to be grateful; you are certainly not short of zeal. But don't make the effort. Any effort you make for me, if you do make one, will be wasted and will do no good. Keep quiet, and keep yourself out of harm's way. Even if *my* fortunes are poor, I wouldn't for that reason want suffering to strike as many others as possible! Certainly not, seeing how distressed I am by the fate of my brother Atlas,[36] who stands in the lands of the west, supporting on his shoulders the pillars of heaven and earth,[37] a grievous burden on his arms. And I have seen and pitied the earth-born inhabitant of the Cilician cave,[38] a fierce monster with a hundred heads, now subdued by force— furious Typhon, who once rose up

[35] i.e. if you had been "good at admonishing yourself" and had behaved prudently, you would not be where you are now.

[36] In Hesiod (*Theogony* 507–9) Atlas, like Prometheus, is son of Iapetus and Clymene; here, presumably, he has been tacitly transferred to Prometheus' new parents, Uranus and Gaea.

[37] An illogical blend of the descriptions of Atlas' task in the *Theogony* (517–9) and the *Odyssey* (1.52–54).

[38] The whole passage on Typhon (Typhos, Typhoeus) is closely parallel to, and probably based on, Pindar, *Pythian* 1.15–28, who also mentions a "Cilician cave" as his original home; Homer (*Iliad* 2.783) had placed Typhoeus εἰν Ἀρίμοις, and there was apparently a mountain range called Arima in Cilicia (Callisthenes *FGrH* 124 F 33).

σμερδναῖσι γαμφηλαῖσι συρίζων φόβον,
ἐξ ὀμμάτων δ' ἤστραπτε γοργωπὸν σέλας,
ὡς τὴν Διὸς τυραννίδ' ἐκπέρσων βίᾳ·
ἀλλ' ἦλθεν αὐτῷ Ζηνὸς ἄγρυπνον βέλος,
καταιβάτης κεραυνὸς ἐκπνέων φλόγα,
ὃς αὐτὸν ἐξέπληξε τῶν ὑψηγόρων
κομπασμάτων· φρένας γὰρ εἰς αὐτὰς τυπεὶς
ἐφεψαλώθη κἀξεβροντήθη σθένος.
καὶ νῦν ἀχρεῖον καὶ παράορον δέμας
κεῖται στενωποῦ πλησίον θαλασσίου
ἰπούμενος ῥίζαισιν Αἰτναίαις ὕπο·
κορυφαῖς δ' ἐν ἄκραις ἥμενος μυδροκτυπεῖ
Ἥφαιστος, ἔνθεν ἐκραγήσονταί ποτε
ποταμοὶ πυρὸς δάπτοντες ἀγρίαις γνάθοις
τῆς καλλικάρπου Σικελίας λευρὸν γύας·
τοιόνδε Τυφῶς ἐξαναζέσει χόλον
θερμοῖς ἀπλάτου βέλεσι πυρπνόου ζάλης,
καίπερ κεραυνῷ Ζηνὸς ἠνθρακωμένος.
σὺ δ' οὐκ ἄπειρος, οὐδ' ἐμοῦ διδασκάλου
χρῄζεις· σεαυτὸν σῷζ' ὅπως ἐπίστασαι·
ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν παροῦσαν ἀντλήσω τύχην,
ἔστ' ἂν Διὸς φρόνημα λωφήσῃ χόλου.

355 *φόβον* M I *b k*: *φόνον* I$^{\text{sscr}}$ *b k t*.
371 *θερμοῖς b*: *θερμῆς* M I *b k* Σ$^{\Phi}$.
371 *ἀπλάτου* Blomfield: *ἀπλάστου* I$^{\text{ac}}$: *ἀπλήστου* M I$^{\text{pc}}$ *b k*.

[39] The revolt of Typhoeus (son of Tartarus and Gaea) is narrated in Hesiod, *Theogony* 821–868.

against the gods,[39] hissing terror from his formidable jaws while a fierce radiance flashed from his eyes, with the intention of overthrowing the autocracy of Zeus by force. But there came against him the unsleeping weapon of Zeus, the downrushing thunderbolt breathing out flame, which struck him out of his haughty boasts—for he was hit right in the centre of his body,[40] and his strength was thundered out of him and reduced to ashes. And now he lies, a sprawled, inert body, near the narrows of the sea,[41] crushed under the roots of Mount Etna; on its topmost peaks Hephaestus sits forging red-hot iron,[42] and from thence one day will burst forth rivers of fire, devouring with their savage jaws the smooth fields of Sicily with their fine crops.[43] Such is the rage in which Typhos will boil over, raining hot darts of fiery breath that no one can touch, even though he has been calcinated by the thunderbolt of Zeus. You are not without experience, and you don't need me to teach you: save yourself, you know how to. And I will endure my present fate, until the anger in Zeus's heart is assuaged.

40 lit. "in the midriff".

41 The Strait of Messina (whose narrowest point is actually some 35 miles from Mount Etna as the crow flies).

42 For volcanoes as Hephaestus' smithies, cf. Euripides, *Cyclops* 599 (Etna); Thucydides 3.88.3 (Hiera, now Vulcano, in the Lipari islands). The idea here is that Typhon breathes or vomits streams of fire (cf. Pindar, *Pythian* 1.25) which heat Hephaestus' forge.

43 A prophecy (*post eventum* from the poet's point of view) of the eruption of Etna which took place in the 470s (Thucydides 3.116; the *Parian Marble* dates it 479/8), for only the second time since Greeks first colonized Sicily, and is vividly described by Pindar, *Pythian* 1.21–28.

ΩΚΕΑΝΟΣ

οὔκουν, Προμηθεῦ, τοῦτο γιγνώσκεις, ὅτι
ὀργῆς νοσούσης εἰσὶν ἰατροὶ λόγοι;

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

ἐάν τις ἐν καιρῷ γε μαλθάσσῃ κέαρ
καὶ μὴ σφριγῶντα θυμὸν ἰσχναίνῃ βίᾳ.

ΩΚΕΑΝΟΣ

ἐν τῷ προθυμεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ τολμᾶν τίνα
ὁρᾷς ἐνοῦσαν ζημίαν; δίδασκέ με.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

μόχθον περισσὸν κουφόνουν τ᾽ εὐηθίαν.

ΩΚΕΑΝΟΣ

ἔα με τῇδε τῇ νόσῳ νοσεῖν, ἐπεὶ
κέρδιστον εὖ φρονοῦντα μὴ φρονεῖν δοκεῖν.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

ἐμὸν δοκήσει τἀμπλάκημ᾽ εἶναι τόδε.

ΩΚΕΑΝΟΣ

σαφῶς μ᾽ ἐς οἴκους σὸς λόγος στέλλει πάλιν.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

μὴ γάρ σε θρῆνος οὑμὸς εἰς ἔχθραν βάλῃ.

378 ὀργῆς codd., [i]Cicero *Tusc. Disp.* 3.76, Eustathius on *Iliad* 8.38–40 and 15.47: ψυχῆς Plutarch *Moralia* 102b, [Menander] *Monosticha* 840.

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44 Oceanus still hopes that *his* words can soften the heart of Zeus.

OCEANUS

So, Prometheus, you don't know that words are the healers of a sick temper?[44]

PROMETHEUS

Yes, if one tries to soften the heart at the right moment, and doesn't try to reduce the swollen spirit against its will when it is still firm.[45]

OCEANUS

And what harm, tell me, can you see determination and courage bringing with them?

PROMETHEUS

Wasted labour and empty-headed naivety.[46]

OCEANUS

Allow me to suffer from that affliction: to be sensible while being thought stupid is the best policy.[47]

PROMETHEUS

That shortcoming will be thought to be *mine*.[48]

OCEANUS

Your words are plainly meant to send me back home.

PROMETHEUS

Yes: by lamenting for me, you risk incurring enmity.

45 The angry spirit is compared to a tumour, which the doctor should not attempt to reduce until it has ripened and begun to soften of itself ("Hippocrates", *Aphorisms* 1.22).

46 i.e. a *reputation* for empty-headed naivety.

47 i.e. I would rather be thought stupid (while actually being sensible) than actually be stupid (while being thought sensible).

48 i.e. I am determined that I, not you, shall be the one to be "thought stupid". The implication, which Oceanus evidently perceives, is "I am determined you shall not intercede with Zeus".

ΩΚΕΑΝΟΣ

ἦ τῷ νέον θακοῦντι παγκρατεῖς ἕδρας;

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

τούτου φυλάσσου μή ποτ' ἀχθεσθῇ κέαρ.

ΩΚΕΑΝΟΣ

ἡ σή, Προμηθεῦ, ξυμφορὰ διδάσκαλος.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

στέλλου, κομίζου, σῴζε τὸν παρόντα νοῦν.

ΩΚΕΑΝΟΣ

ὁρμωμένῳ μοι τόνδ' ἐθώυξας λόγον·
λευρὰν γὰρ οἶμον αἰθέρος ψαίρει πτεροῖς
τετρασκελὴς οἰωνός· ἄσμενος δέ τἂν
σταθμοῖς ἐν οἰκείοισι κάμψειεν γόνυ.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

στρ. α στένω σε τᾶς οὐλομένας τύχας, Προμηθεῦ·
δακρυσίστακτον ἀπ' ὄσσων
ῥαδινῶν λειβομένα ῥέος παρειὰν
νοτίοις ἔτεγξα παγαῖς.
ἀμέγαρτα γὰρ τάδε Ζεὺς
ἰδίοις νόμοις κρατύνων
ὑπερήφανον θεοῖς τοῖς
πάρος ἐνδείκνυσιν αἰχμάν.

399 ἀπ' *b*: τ' ἀπ' *b*: δ' ἀπ' M I *b k*.

OCEANUS

You mean the enmity of him who has lately come to sit on the almighty throne?

PROMETHEUS

Take care that his heart never becomes aggrieved with you.

OCEANUS

Your misfortunes, Prometheus, serve to instruct me.

PROMETHEUS

On your way, then; off you go; maintain your present intentions.

OCEANUS

As you speak these words, I am already starting off. My four-legged bird is beating the smooth pathway of the air with his wings; he will be glad to have a rest in his home stables.

OCEANUS flies off.

CHORUS[49]

I groan, Prometheus, for your terrible fate:
I let fall a flow of tear-drops
from my tender eyes, and moisten my cheek
with their watery stream;
for Zeus, exercising this unlimited control
under laws of his own making,
is displaying the arrogance of power
towards the gods of old.

[49] If the chorus have been out of sight during the Oceanus scene (see note on 284), they re-enter here, and take up their normal position in the *orchestra*.

ἀντ. α πρόπασα δ' ἤδη στονόεν λέλακε χώρα,
μεγαλοσχήμονά τ' ἀρχαι-
οπρεπῆ <– ∪ ∪ –> στένουσι τὰν σὰν
ξυνομαιμόνων τε τιμάν·
ὁπόσοι τ' ἔποικον ἁγνᾶς
Ἀσίας ἕδος νέμονται
μεγαλοστόνοισι σοῖς πή-
μασι συγκάμνουσι θνατοί,

στρ. β Κολχίδος τε γᾶς ἔνοικοι
παρθένοι μάχας ἄτρεστοι,
καὶ Σκύθης ὅμιλος, οἳ γᾶς
ἔσχατον τόπον ἀμφὶ Μαι-
ῶτιν ἔχουσι λίμναν,

ἀντ. β Ἀραβίας τ' ἄρειον ἄνθος,
ὑψίκρημνον οἳ πόλισμα
Καυκάσου πέλας νέμουσι,
δάιος στρατός, ὀξυπρῴ-
ροισι βρέμων ἐν αἰχμαῖς.

409 lacuna posited by Hermann: ‹δακρυχέει› (στένουσα) Hermann: ‹ῥαιομέναν› West.

409 στένουσι M *b k* Σ^{BY}: στένουσα I *b k* (cf. στενάζουσα Σ$^{\Phi}$).

421 οἳ Σ^{M} (λείπει ὁ καί): θ' οἳ codd. ^{i}Σ$^{\Phi}$.

And every land is now crying out in grief,
lamenting ‹the destruction of› the privileges,
magnificent and time-honoured,
of yourself and your brethren:
all the mortals who dwell
in the inhabited abodes of holy Asia
suffer together
with your great and grievous sufferings,

and the maidens, undaunted by battle,
who inhabit the land of Colchis,[50]
and the Scythian host, who dwell
in the most distant region of earth
around lake Maeotis,[51]

and the martial flower of Arabia,[52]
inhabiting a city on a lofty cliff
near the Caucasus,
a savage host who cry clamorously
as they fight with sharp-tipped spears.

50 The Amazons, who are here unusually placed in Colchis (modern Georgia); similarly in 719–724 they are said to be living south of the Caucasus in Prometheus' time (though destined to migrate elsewhere in a later generation).

51 The Sea of Azov, which Herodotus (4.86) believed to be "not much smaller" than the Black Sea, and which he and his contemporaries must therefore have supposed to extend far into the interior of Russia.

52 There is significant though scattered evidence, from Xenophon (*Cyropaedia* 7.4.16, 7.5.14, 8.6.7) to the end of antiquity, that the name Arabia was sometimes applied to a territory near the upper Euphrates; see S. R. West, *Hermes* 125 (1997) 374–9.

στρ. γ μόνον δὴ πρόσθεν ἄλλον ἐν πόνοις
δαμέντ᾽ ἀκαμαντοδέτοις Τιτᾶνα λυ-
μαις ἐσειδόμαν θεόν,
Ἄτλαντος ὑπέροχον σθένος κραταιόν,
ὃς γᾶν οὐράνιόν τε πόλον
νώτοις ὑποστεγάζει.

ἀντ. γ < >
βοᾷ δὲ <∪ – ∪ ∪> πόντιος κλύδων
ξυμπίτνων, στένει βύθος,
κελαινὸς Ἅιδος ὑποβρέμει μυχὸς γᾶς,
παγαί θ᾽ ἁγνορύτων ποταμῶν
στένουσιν ἄλγος οἰκτρόν.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ
μήτοι χλιδῇ δοκεῖτε μήτ᾽ αὐθαδίᾳ
σιγᾶν με· συννοίᾳ δὲ δάπτομαι κέαρ
ὁρῶν ἐμαυτὸν ὧδε προυσελούμενον.
καίτοι θεοῖσι τοῖς νέοις τούτοις γέρα
τίς ἄλλος ἢ ᾽γὼ παντελῶς διώρισεν;
ἀλλ᾽ αὐτὰ σιγῶ· καὶ γὰρ εἰδυίαισιν ἂν
ὑμῖν λέγοιμι. τἀν βροτοῖς δὲ πήματα
ἀκούσαθ᾽, ὡς σφας νηπίους ὄντας τὸ πρὶν
ἔννους ἔθηκα καὶ φρενῶν ἐπηβόλους.
λέξω δὲ μέμψιν οὔτιν᾽ ἀνθρώποις ἔχων,

427 ἐσειδόμαν Hermann: εἰσιδόμαν codd.
428–9 Ἄτλαντος . . . κραταιόν, ὅς γᾶν Hermann: Ἄτλανθ᾽ ὃς αἰὲν . . . κραταιὸν codd.

Before now I have seen
but one other Titan god subdued,
humbled and bound in such weariless toil,
Atlas of mighty, surpassing strength,
who upholds on his back
the earth[53] and the vault of the sky.

‹But for your fate, Prometheus, the earth laments,›
the waves of the sea cry out in unison
‹with your sufferings›, the depths groan,
Hades' dark subterranean recesses rumble in response,
and the flowing streams of holy rivers
lament your piteous pain.

PROMETHEUS

Do not think that my silence is due to vanity or arrogance. No, my heart is eaten up with brooding, when I see myself treated so outrageously. After all, who was it but I that did all the distributing of privileges to these new gods? But I will say no more about that, because I would be telling you what you already know. Instead, listen to the miseries of mortals, how infantile they were before I made them intelligent and possessed of understanding. I shall say this, not because I have any desire to criticize humans, but to dem-

[53] Cf. note on 349–350.

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430 *ὑποστέγαζει b*: *ὑποστενάζει* M I *b k*.

430–1 lacuna posited by Stinton: ‹*Προμηθεῦ, σᾶς δὲ γᾶ στένει τύχας*› West.

431 lacuna posited by West, who suggested ‹*πόνοις ἅμα*›.

433 *κελαινὸς* Lachmann: *κελαινὸς δ'* codd.

438 *προυσελ- t*: *προσ(σ)ελ-* or *προσειλ-* or *προσηλ-* codd.

ἀλλ᾽ ὧν δέδωκ᾽ εὔνοιαν ἐξηγούμενος·
οἳ πρῶτα μὲν βλέποντες ἔβλεπον μάτην,
κλύοντες οὐκ ἤκουον, ἀλλ᾽ ὀνειράτων
ἀλίγκιοι μορφαῖσι τὸν μακρὸν βίον
ἔφυρον εἰκῇ πάντα, κοὔτε πλινθυφεῖς
δόμους προσείλους ἦσαν, οὐ ξυλουργίαν,
κατωρύχες δ᾽ ἔναιον ὥστ᾽ ἀήσυροι
μύρμηκες ἄντρων ἐν μυχοῖς ἀνηλίοις.
ἦν δ᾽ οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς οὔτε χείματος τέκμαρ
οὔτ᾽ ἀνθεμώδους ἦρος οὔτε καρπίμου
θέρους βέβαιον, ἀλλ᾽ ἄτερ γνώμης τὸ πᾶν
ἔπρασσον, ἔστε δή σφιν ἀντολὰς ἐγὼ
ἄστρων ἔδειξα τάς τε δυσκρίτους δύσεις.
καὶ μὴν ἀριθμόν, ἔξοχον σοφισμάτων,
ἐξηῦρον αὐτοῖς, γραμμάτων τε συνθέσεις,
μνήμην ἁπάντων, μουσομήτορ᾽ ἐργάνην·
κἄζευξα πρῶτος ἐν ζυγοῖσι κνώδαλα,
ζεύγλαισι δουλεύοντα σάγμασίν θ᾽, ὅπως
θνητοῖς μεγίστων διάδοχοι μοχθημάτων
γένοινθ᾽, ὑφ᾽ ἅρμα τ᾽ ἤγαγον φιληνίους
ἵππους, ἄγαλμα τῆς ὑπερπλούτου χλιδῆς.
θαλασσόπλαγκτα δ᾽ οὔτις ἄλλος ἀντ᾽ ἐμοῦ

461 ἐργάνην *t*: ἐργαν[..] M: ἐργάτιν M^2 I *b k*.
463 σάγμασίν Pauw: σώμασι(*ν*) codd.
465 γένοινθ᾽ *x*: γένωνθ᾽ (γίν- *k*′) M I *b k*.

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54 lit. "seeing, they saw to no effect; hearing, they did not hear".

onstrate the goodwill that inspired my gifts to them. In the beginning, though they had eyes and ears they could make nothing of what they saw and heard;[54] like dream-figures they lived a life of utter random confusion all their days. They knew nothing of brick-built, sun-warmed houses, nor of wooden construction; they dwelt underground, like tiny ants, in the sunless recesses of caves. Nor had they any reliable indicator of winter, or of flowery spring, or of fruitful summer; they did everything without planning, until I showed them the hard-to-discern risings and settings of stars.[55] I also invented for them the art of number, supreme among all techniques, and that of combining letters into written words, the tool that enables all things to be remembered and is mother of the Muses.[56] And I was the first to bring beasts[57] under the yoke as slaves to the yoke-strap and the pack-saddle, so that they might relieve humans of their greatest labours; and I brought horses to love the rein and pull chariots, making them a luxurious ornament for men of great wealth. And it was no one other than

55 Any given star rises (and sets) four minutes earlier each day, and Greeks used as markers of the seasons the days when prominent stars or star-groups (e.g. Sirius, Arcturus, the Pleiades) could first be seen rising (or, six months later, setting) before daybreak. These risings and settings are "hard to discern" because knowledge of them presupposes the ability to pick out the marker stars from the thousands of others in the sky.

56 i.e. facilitates the composition of poetry. There is a word-play on the traditional genealogy of the Muses, who were daughters of Zeus and Mnemosyne (Memory) (Hesiod, *Theogony* 915–7).

57 Oxen (for ploughing) and asses (for transport); horses will be mentioned separately in 465–6.

λινόπτερ᾽ ηὗρε ναυτίλων ὀχήματα.
τοιαῦτα μηχανήματ᾽ ἐξευρὼν τάλας
βροτοῖσιν αὐτὸς οὐκ ἔχω σόφισμ᾽ ὅτῳ
τῆς νῦν παρούσης πημονῆς ἀπαλλαγῶ.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἀκὲς πεπονθὼς πῆμ᾽ ἀποσφαλεὶς φρενῶν
πλανᾷ· κακὸς δ᾽ ἰατρὸς ὥς τις εἰς νόσον
πεσὼν ἀθυμεῖς καὶ σεαυτὸν οὐκ ἔχεις
εὑρεῖν ὁποίοις φαρμάκοις ἰάσιμος.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΤΣ

τὰ λοιπά μου κλυοῦσα θαυμάσῃ πλέον,
οἵας τέχνας τε καὶ πόρους ἐμησάμην.
τὸ μὲν μέγιστον, εἴ τις εἰς νόσον πέσοι,
οὐκ ἦν ἀλέξημ᾽ οὐδέν, οὔτε βρώσιμον,
οὐ χριστόν, οὐδὲ πιστόν, ἀλλὰ φαρμάκων
χρείᾳ κατεσκέλλοντο, πρίν γ᾽ ἐγὼ σφίσιν
ἔδειξα κράσεις ἠπίων ἀκεσμάτων,
αἷς τὰς ἁπάσας ἐξαμύνονται νόσους.
τρόπους δὲ πολλοὺς μαντικῆς ἐστοίχισα,
κἄκρινα πρῶτος ἐξ ὀνειράτων ἃ χρὴ
ὕπαρ γενέσθαι, κληδόνας τε δυσκρίτους
ἐγνώρισ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἐνοδίους τε συμβόλους·

472 ἀκὲς (αἰκὲς) πεπονθὼς Heimsoeth: πέπονθας ἀεικὲς codd. 479 οὔτε *k* Σ$^{\Phi}$: οὐδὲ M I *b k*.
484 δὲ I *b k*: τε M *b*.

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58 The manuscripts' reading would mean "You have suffered a painful degradation, (namely that) you are straying, robbed of

me that invented the linen-winged vehicles in which sailors roam the seas. Such contrivances have I invented for mortals, yet, wretched that I am, I have no device by which I can escape from my present sufferings.

CHORUS

Having been subjected to a painful degradation, you are mentally straying, robbed of your wits;[58] like a bad doctor who has fallen sick, you are in despair, and unable to discover by what remedies your own condition is curable.

PROMETHEUS

When you have heard the rest of what I have to say, you will be even more amazed by all the skills and devices that I have contrived. The greatest was this. If anyone fell sick, there was no means of aiding him, neither by food nor ointment nor potion: they withered and decayed for want of remedies, until I showed them how to mix gentle curative drugs, with which they can now defend themselves against all kinds of diseases. I also systematized many kinds of seer-craft. I was the first to interpret from dreams what actual events were destined to happen; I made known to them the difficult arts of interpreting significant utter-

your wits". Everywhere else, however, the "painful degradation" that Prometheus has suffered is the binding and torment, and the simile of the doctor confirms this: both Prometheus and the doctor are prevented by *their own mental shortcomings* from finding a way to escape a predicament in which *external forces* (respectively, the will of Zeus and disease) have placed them. Heimsoeth's emendation makes the chorus's words coherent: they (profess to) think that Prometheus' mood of rigid defiance—which, as they see things, forecloses any possibility of release—is due to his mind having been warped by his sufferings.

γαμψωνύχων τε πτῆσιν οἰωνῶν σκεθρῶς
διώρισ', οἵτινές τε δεξιοί φύσιν
εὐωνύμους τε, καὶ δίαιταν ἥντινα
ἔχουσ' ἕκαστοι, καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τίνες
ἔχθραι τε καὶ στέργηθρα καὶ ξυνεδρίαι·
σπλάγχνων τε λειότητα, καὶ χροιὰν τίνα
ἔχουσ' ἂν εἴη δαίμοσιν πρὸς ἡδονὴν
χολή, λόβου τε ποικίλην εὐμορφίαν·
κνίσῃ τε κῶλα ξυγκαλυπτὰ καὶ μακρὰν
ὀσφῦν πυρώσας δυστέκμαρτον εἰς τέχνην
ὤδωσα θνητούς, καὶ φλογωπὰ σήματα
ἐξωμμάτωσα πρόσθεν ὄντ' ἐπάργεμα.
τοιαῦτα μέν δὴ ταῦτ'· ἔνερθε δὲ χθονὸς
κεκρυμμέν' ἀνθρώποισιν ὠφελήματα,
χαλκόν, σίδηρον, ἄργυρον χρυσόν τε, τίς
φήσειεν ἂν πάροιθεν ἐξευρεῖν ἐμοῦ;
οὐδείς, σάφ' οἶδα, μὴ μάτην φλύσαι θέλων.

494–5 ἔχουσ' . . . χολή Wieseler: ἔχοντ' . . . χολῆς codd.
502 τε I: δὲ M *b k*.

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59 Words that a person happened to (over)hear, or individuals or animals that he happened to meet, might in certain circumstances be regarded as omens of predictive significance; see for example Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 391–7 (women's laments for the death of Adonis punctuating a speech advocating the despatch of the Sicilian Expedition) and Theophrastus, *Characters* 16.3 (a polecat crossing one's path as a sign of bad luck).

60 Knowledge of these was important for augury because it enabled the seer to relate the observed behaviour of a bird to (what

ances and encounters on journeys;[59] I defined precisely the flight of crook-taloned birds, which of them were favourable and which sinister by nature, the habits of each species and their mutual hatreds, affections and companionships;[60] and the smoothness of internal organs,[61] and what colour bile should have if it is to be pleasing to the gods, and the mottled appearance and proper shape of the liver-lobe; I wrapped the thigh-bones and the long chine in fat and burnt them,[62] guiding mortals towards a skill of making difficult inferences, and opening their eyes to the signs the flames gave, which till then had been dark to them. So much for that; but as for the things hidden beneath the earth that benefit humanity—copper, iron, silver and gold—who can claim to have discovered them before I did? No one, I know for sure, unless he wanted to spout

was believed to be) its normal behaviour. Thus, when Xenophon was setting out from Ephesus to join Cyrus' expedition, a sedentary eagle screamed on his right side (Xenophon, *Anabasis* 6.1.23); the seer whom he consulted told him that while this omen foretold greatness and glory, it also betokened suffering (because "other birds mostly attack the eagle when it is sedentary") and did not portend material gain (because "the eagle normally gets its food when it is on the wing").

61 This, and what follows as far as 499, refers to the drawing of omens from the appearance of the internal parts of sacrificed animals, and from the manner in which they burned on the altar.

62 Prometheus is said by Hesiod (*Theogony* 535–557) to have been the inventor of this Greek sacrificial practice, but there he does it in an attempt (unsuccessful, and disastrous for mankind) to deceive Zeus, whereas here his object is to enable mortals to use the flames for divination.

βραχεῖ δὲ μύθῳ πάντα συλλήβδην μάθε·
πᾶσαι τέχναι βροτοῖσιν ἐκ Προμηθέως.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

μή νυν βροτοὺς μὲν ὠφέλει καιροῦ πέρα,
σαυτοῦ δ' ἀκήδει δυστυχοῦντος· ὡς ἐγὼ
εὔελπίς εἰμι τῶνδέ σ' ἐκ δεσμῶν ἔτι
λυθέντα μηδὲν μεῖον ἰσχύσειν Διός.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

οὐ ταῦτα ταύτῃ μοῖρά πω τελεσφόρος
κρᾶναι πέπρωται, μυρίαις δὲ πημοναῖς
δύαις τε καμφθεὶς ὧδε δεσμὰ φυγγάνω·
τέχνη δ' ἀνάγκης ἀσθενεστέρα μακρῷ.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

τίς οὖν ἀνάγκης ἐστὶν οἰακοστρόφος;

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

Μοῖραι *τρίμορφοι μνήμονές τ' Ἐρινύες.*

ΧΟΡΟΣ

τούτων ἄρα Ζεὺς ἐστιν ἀσθενέστερος;

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

οὔκουν ἂν ἐκφύγοι γε τὴν πεπρωμένην.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

τί γὰρ πέπρωται Ζηνὶ πλὴν αἰεὶ κρατεῖν;

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

τοῦτ' οὐκέτ' ἂν πύθοιο· μηδὲ λιπάρει.

520 *οὐκέτ' ἂν k*: *οὐκ ἂν b k*: *οὐκ ἂν οὖν* M *b*: *οὐκ ἄν μου* I.

pointless drivel. To sum up everything in a short sentence: know that all the skills that mortals have come from Prometheus.

CHORUS

Well, don't benefit mortals beyond the proper measure while neglecting yourself when you are in distress. I am confident that you will yet be released from these bonds and be no less powerful than Zeus.

PROMETHEUS

The decisive decree of destiny is not ordained to bring that to pass in that way yet awhile: only after being racked by countless pains and torments am I at last to escape these bonds. Craft is far weaker than Necessity.

CHORUS

Well, who is the steersman of Necessity?[63]

PROMETHEUS

The triple Fates and the unforgetting Furies.

CHORUS

You mean Zeus is less strong than these?

PROMETHEUS

Certainly he cannot escape destiny.

CHORUS

And what is Zeus' destiny, if not to reign eternally?

PROMETHEUS

I will not go on to tell you that: do not persist in asking.

[63] Evidently expecting the answer "Zeus".

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἦ πού τι σεμνόν ἐστιν ὃ ξυναμπέχεις.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

ἄλλου λόγου μέμνησθε· τόνδε δ' οὐδαμῶς
καιρὸς γεγωνεῖν, ἀλλὰ συγκαλυπτέος
ὅσον μάλιστα· τόνδε γὰρ σῴζων ἐγὼ
δεσμοὺς ἀεικεῖς καὶ δύας ἐκφυγγάνω.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

στρ. α μηδάμ' ὁ πάντα νέμων
θεῖτ' ἐμᾷ γνώμᾳ κράτος ἀντίπαλον Ζεύς,
μηδ' ἐλινύσαιμι θεοὺς ὁσίαις
θοίναις ποτινισομένα
βουφόνοις παρ' Ὠκεανοῦ πατρὸς ἄσβεστον πόρον,
μηδ' ἀλίτοιμι λόγοις,
ἀλλά μοι τόδ' ἐμμένοι
καὶ μήποτ' ἐκτακείη·

ἀντ. α ἡδύ τι θαρσαλέαις
τὸν μακρὸν τείνειν βίον ἐλπίσι, φαναῖς
θυμὸν ἀλδαίνουσαν ἐν εὐφροσύναις.
φρίσσω δέ σε δερκομένα
μυρίοις μόχθοις διακναιόμενον ‹× – ∪ –›·
Ζῆνα γὰρ οὐ τρομέων
†ἰδίᾳ† γνώμᾳ σέβῃ
θνατοὺς ἄγαν, Προμηθεῦ.

541 e.g. ‹Ζηνὸς κότῳ› Havet, ‹θνατῶν χάριν› Tommasini, ‹θεῖον δέμας› Hartung.

CHORUS

It must be something awesome that you are concealing.

PROMETHEUS

Mention some other matter. It is certainly not time to reveal this one—it must be kept as closely hidden as possible, because by keeping it safe I can escape this degrading bondage and pain.

CHORUS

May Zeus, the disposer of all things,
never set his power in opposition to my will;
nor may I be backward
in piously approaching the gods with feasts
of slaughtered oxen beside the immortal stream of my father Oceanus;
nor may I sin in speech,
but may this abide for me
and never melt away:

it is pleasant to pass
the length of one's life in confident hopes, nourishing
one's spirit amid bright joys.
But I shudder to look on you,
tormented by countless woes < >:
for you do not fear Zeus
and, following your individual judgement, Prometheus,
you give too much honour to mortals.

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543 ἰδίᾳ M I *b k*: οἰκείᾳ *z*.

στρ. β φέρε, πῶς χάρις ἁ χάρις, ὦ φίλος;
εἰπέ, ποῦ τις ἀλκά;
τίς ἐφαμερίων ἄρηξις; οὐδ' ἐδέρχθης
ὀλιγοδρανίαν ἄκικυν ἰσόνειρον, ᾇ τὸ φωτῶν
ἀλαὸν γένος ἐμπεποδισμένον; οὔποτε
τὰν Διὸς ἁρμονίαν θνατῶν παρεξίασι βουλαί.

ἀντ. β ἔμαθον τάδε σὰς προσιδοῦσ' ὀλο-
ὰς τύχας, Προμηθεῦ·
τὸ διαμφίδιον δέ μοι μέλος προσέπτα
τόδ' ἐκεῖνό θ', ὅτ' ἀμφὶ λουτρὰ καὶ λέχος σὸν
ὑμεναίουν
ἰότητι γάμων, ὅτε τὰν ὁμοπάτριον
ἄγαγες Ἡσιόναν πιθὼν δάμαρτα κοινόλεκτρον.

ΙΩ

<ἰώ·>
τίς γῆ; τί γένος; τίνα φῶ λεύσσειν

545 φερέ πῶς Burges: φέρ' ὅπως codd.
545 χάρις ἁ χάρις Headlam: χάρις ἄχαρις codd.
558 ὁμοπάτριον Lachmann: ὁμοπάτριον ἔδνοις codd.
561 <ἰώ·> add. West.

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64 lit. "how is the favour a favour?"

65 The ritual bathing of bride and groom was an important preliminary to an Athenian wedding.

66 "With bride-gifts", add the manuscripts; but (i) this makes the antistrophe two syllables longer than the strophe, (ii) the word-order is strained, (iii) except in abnormal circumstances (e.g. those of *Odyssey* 18.158–303) the bride-gifts (ἔδνα) offered

Come, my friend, what favour has this favour done
you?[64]
Tell me, where do you find any support?
What help can there be from creatures of a day? Did
you not even consider
the helpless, dreamlike feebleness by which
the blind race of men is fettered? Never
will the schemes of mortals transgress the ordering of
Zeus.

I learned this from seeing
your wretched fortune, Prometheus;
and this song that has flown to my lips is very different
from the wedding-song I sang in honour of bath[65] and
bed
on the occasion of your marriage, when you wooed and
won[66]
my sister Hesione[67] to be your wife and bedfellow.

Enter IO, *horned like a cow.*

IO

<Iô!>
What land, what people are these? Who should I say this
is

by suitors in the heroic age were given not to the woman but to her father.

[67] The wife of Prometheus (and mother of Deucalion, the Flood hero) is variously identified in various sources; the fifth-century mythographer Acusilaus of Argos (*FGrH* 2 F 34) names her as Hesione the Oceanid, as here. Hesione is not mentioned in Hesiod's list of forty-one daughters of Oceanus.

τόνδε χαλινοῖς ἐν πετρίνοισιν
χειμαζόμενον;
τίνος ἀμπλακίας ποινάς ὀλέκῃ;
σήμηνον ὅποι
γῆς ἡ μογερὰ πεπλάνημαι.

ἆ ἆ, ἔ ἔ·
χρίει τις αὖ με τὰν τάλαιναν οἶστρος.
ἄλευ', ἆ δᾶ· †φοβοῦμαι†
τὸν μυριωπὸν εἰσορῶσα βούταν·
ὁ δὲ πορεύεται δόλιον ὄμμ' ἔχων,
ὃν οὐδὲ κατθανόντα γαῖα κεύθει,
ἀλλά με τὰν τάλαιναν
ἐξ ἐνέρων περῶν κυνηγετεῖ πλανᾷ
τε νῆστιν ἀνὰ τὰν παραλίαν ψάμμον·

στρ. ὑπὸ δὲ κηρόπλαστος ὀτοβεῖ δόναξ
ἀχέτας ὑπνοδόταν νόμον.
ἰὼ ἰὼ πόποῖ,

before 567 codd. add εἴδωλον Ἄργου γηγενοῦς: M. Schmidt deleted the first two words, West the third.

567 *φοβοῦμαι* M I *b k*: om. *x*: del. Dindorf: perh. e.g. *φόβῳ μαίνομαι*. 576 *ποποῖ* (*πόποι*) *k*: *ποῖ ποῖ πόποι πόποι* vel sim. M *b*: *ποῖ ποῖ ποῖ ποι ποι* I: *ποῖ ποῖ πῶ πῶ πῶ b k*.

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[68] The gadfly, which drove Io on from land to land (674–7, 681–2, cf. *Supp.* 306–9), will have stung her from behind; but she can *see* the ghost of Argus, which must therefore be imagined as being in front of her.

[69] Argus; cf. 677–681 and *Supp.* 302–5.

that I see, wind-battered,
harnessed to the rocks?
For what crime are you thus being murdered?
Tell me where on earth
I have wandered in my misery.

She begins to dance wildly.

Oh, oh! ah, ah!
A gadfly is stinging me again, wretched me!—

[*Suddenly changing direction*][68]

Keep him off! Ah, dah! I ‹am mad with› fear,
seeing the myriad-eyed cowherd![69]
He is on the move, keeping a crafty eye:
even though he is dead, the earth cannot cover him—
he crosses over from the underworld
to hunt me—wretched me!—and makes me wander
starving along the sands of the seashore;
and in accompaniment the noisy reed-pipe, fashioned
with wax,[70]
drones its soporific[71] melody.
Ió, ió, popoi—

[70] The reference is to a herdsman's pan-pipes, whose reed-stems were held together with wax (cf. Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris* 1125–7; Virgil, *Eclogue* 2.32–33).

[71] Hermes, in some accounts, played the pan-pipes to lull Argus to sleep before killing him (so probably Bacchylides 19.35–36; later, Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 1.682–714). The epithet ἄχέτας may suggest a comparison with the chirping of cicadas (cf. Aristophanes, *Peace* 1159, *Birds* 1095), which can also induce sleep (cf. Plato, *Phaedrus* 259a).

ποῖ μ᾽ ἄγουσι τηλέπλαγκτοι πλάναι;
τί ποτέ μ᾽, ὦ Κρόνιε παῖ, τί ποτε ταῖσδ᾽
ἐνέζευξας εὑρὼν ἁμαρτοῦσαν ἐν πημοναῖσιν, ἔ ἔ,
οἰστρηλάτῳ δὲ δείματι δειλαίαν
παράκοπον ὧδε τείρεις;
πυρί με φλέξον, ἢ χθονὶ κάλυψον, ἢ
ποντίοις δάκεσι δὸς βοράν,
μηδέ μοι φθονήσῃς
εὐγμάτων, ἄναξ·
ἄδην με πολύπλανοι πλάναι
γεγυμνάκασιν, οὐδ᾽ ἔχω μαθεῖν ὅπῃ
πημονὰς ἀλύξω.
κλύεις φθέγμα τᾶς βούκερω παρθένου;

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

πῶς δ᾽ οὐ κλύω τῆς οἰστροδινήτου κόρης
τῆς Ἰναχείας, ἣ Διὸς θάλπει κέαρ
ἔρωτι, καὶ νῦν τοὺς ὑπερμήκεις δρόμους
Ἥρᾳ στυγητὸς πρὸς βίαν γυμνάζεται;

ΙΩ

ἀντ. πόθεν ἐμοῦ σὺ πατρὸς ὄνομ᾽ ἀπύεις;
εἰπέ μοι τᾷ μογερᾷ, τίς ὤν,
τίς ἄρα μ᾽, ὦ τάλας,
τὰν τάλαιναν ὧδ᾽ ἔτυμα προσθροεῖς,
θεόσυτόν τε νόσον ὠνόμασας, ἃ

577 ποῖ *k*: πῇ M I *b k*.
582 με Elmsley: om. codd.
596 τάλαιναν Wilamowitz: ταλαίπωρον codd.

where have my far-flung wanderings brought me?
What crime, son of Cronus, what crime is it you have
found me guilty of,
that you have yoked me to these sufferings—ah, ah
and torment me out of my mind like this,
wretched that I am, ever driven by the fearful gadfly?
Burn me with fire, or bury me in the earth,
or give me as prey to the monsters of the sea:
do not begrudge
my prayer, O lord!
My far-flung wanderings
have exhausted me utterly, and I cannot tell how
to escape my sufferings.

[*To* PROMETHEUS]

Do you hear the voice of the maiden with cow's horns?

PROMETHEUS

How could I not hear the gadfly-driven daughter of Inachus, who warmed the heart of Zeus with desire, and who now, hated by Hera, has been forced into this lengthy, exhausting flight?

IO

How are you able to utter the name of my father?
Tell me, miserable that I am, who are you,
who are you, suffering one,
that can address me, who suffer too, so correctly,
and can name my god-sent affliction,

μαραίνει με χρίουσα κέντροισι φοιταλέοισιν, ἦ ἔ;
σκιρτημάτων δὲ νήστισιν ᾰ̓κείαις
λαβρόσυτος ἦλθον <Ἥρας>
ἐπικότοισι μήδεσι δαμεῖσα. δυσ-
δαιμόνων δὲ τίνες, οἳ ἦ ἔ,
οἵ᾽ ἐγὼ μογοῦσιν;
ἀλλά μοι τορῶς
τέκμηρον ὅ τι μ᾽ ἐπαμμένει
παθεῖν· τί μῆχαρ, ἢ τί φάρμακον νόσου;
δεῖξον, εἴπερ οἶσθα·
θρόει, φράζε τᾷ δυσπλάνῳ παρθένῳ.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

λέξω τορῶς σοι πᾶν ὅπερ χρήζεις μαθεῖν,
οὐκ ἐμπλέκων αἰνίγματ᾽, ἀλλ᾽ ἁπλῷ λόγῳ,
ὥσπερ δίκαιον πρὸς φίλους οἴγειν στόμα.
πυρὸς βροτοῖς δοτῆρ᾽ ὁρᾷς Προμηθέα.

ΙΩ

ὦ κοινὸν ὠφέλημα θνητοῖσιν φανείς,
τλῆμον Προμηθεῦ, τοῦ δίκην πάσχεις τάδε;

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

ἁρμοῖ πέπαυμαι τοὺς ἐμοὺς θρηνῶν πόνους.

600 <Ἥρας> Monk, Hermann: om. codd.
606 μῆχαρ ἢ Reisig: μὴ χρὴ M *b*: μοι χρὴ I^{pc} *k*: με χρὴ γ^{p}I *b*: [I^{ac}].
609 ὅπερ *b t*: ὃ *b*: ὅσον *b*: ὅτι M I *b k*.

which withers me and pricks me with stings that force
me to wander—[72]ah, ah?
Starving, with undignified leaps and bounds,[73]
I have come here, rushing wildly,
mastered by the wiles of an angry Hera.
Who among the wretched—oi, ah, ah!—
suffer as I do?
Give me a clear indication
of what still lies in store for me
to suffer. What means of escape, what cure for my
affliction?
Reveal it, if you know it:
speak and tell it to the wretched wandering maiden.

PROMETHEUS

I will tell you clearly all that you wish to learn, not weaving it in riddles but in plain speech, in the way that it is right to open one's lips to friends.[74] You see before you Prometheus, who gave fire to mortals.

IO

Unhappy Prometheus, you who have shown yourself the common benefactor of all humanity! What are you undergoing this punishment for?

PROMETHEUS

I have just finished lamenting my sufferings.

72 Or "with stings of madness".

73 lit. "with the foodless indignities of leaps".

74 Prometheus regards Io as a "friend", though he has never met her before, either because he is a friend to all mortals (cf. 612, 613) or because her father, the river-god Inachus, is a son of Oceanus (cf. 636) and therefore his own nephew.

ΙΩ

οὔκουν πόροις ἂν τήνδε δωρειὰν ἐμοί;

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

λέγ' ἥντιν' αἰτῇ· πᾶν γὰρ ἂν πύθοιό μου.

ΙΩ

σήμηνον ὅστις ἐν φάραγγί σ' ὤχμασεν.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

βούλευμα μὲν τὸ Διὸν, Ἡφαίστου δὲ χείρ.

ΙΩ

ποινὰς δὲ ποίων ἀμπλακημάτων τίνεις;

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

τοσοῦτον ἀρκῶ σοι σαφηνίσας μόνον.

ΙΩ

καὶ πρός γε τούτοις τέρμα τῆς ἐμῆς πλάνης
δεῖξον, τις ἔσται τῇ ταλαιπώρῳ χρόνος.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

τὸ μὴ μαθεῖν σοι κρεῖσσον ἢ μαθεῖν τάδε.

ΙΩ

μήτοι με κρύψῃς τοῦθ' ὅπερ μέλλω παθειν.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

ἀλλ' οὐ μεγαίρω τοῦδε τοῦ δωρήματος.

617 πᾶν γὰρ ἂν *x*: πᾶν γὰρ οὖν M: πᾶν γὰρ *b k*: πάντα γὰρ I *b k*: πᾶν γὰρ ἐκ- *k*.
621 σαφηνίσας Linwood: σαφηνίσαι codd.

IO

Then will you not grant me this boon?

PROMETHEUS

Say what boon you want: whatever it is, you will learn it from me.

IO

Tell me who bound you in this ravine.

PROMETHEUS

The decision of Zeus and the hand of Hephaestus.

IO

And for what wrongdoing are you paying the penalty?

PROMETHEUS

By explaining just so much to you, I have done enough.[75]

IO

And in addition to that, reveal to me what time will mark the end of my miserable wanderings.

PROMETHEUS

It is better for you not to learn that than to learn it.

IO

Please do not conceal from me what I am destined to suffer.

PROMETHEUS

I do not begrudge you this boon.

[75] Implying, apparently, that his promise at 617 was to answer just one question about himself.

ΙΩ

τί δῆτα μέλλεις μὴ οὐ γεγωνίσκειν τὸ πᾶν;

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

φθόνος μὲν οὐδείς, σὰς δ' ὀκνῶ θρᾶξαι φρένας.

ΙΩ

μή μου προκήδου μᾶσσον ὡς ἐμοὶ γλυκύ.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

630 ἐπεὶ προθυμῇ, χρὴ λέγειν· ἄκουε δή.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

μήπω γε, μοῖραν δ' ἡδονῆς κἀμοὶ πόρε·
τὴν τῆσδε πρῶτον ἱστορήσωμεν νόσον,
αὐτῆς λεγούσης τὰς πολυφθόρους τύχας·
τὰ λοιπὰ δ' ἄθλων σοῦ διδαχθήτω πάρα.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

635 σὸν ἔργον, Ἰοῖ, ταῖσδ' ὑπουργῆσαι χάριν,
ἄλλως τε πάντως καὶ κασιγνήταις πατρός·
ὡς τἀποκλαῦσαι κἀποδύρασθαι τύχας
ἐνταῦθ', ὅπου μέλλοι τις οἴσεσθαι δάκρυ
πρὸς τῶν κλυόντων, ἀξίαν τριβὴν ἔχει.

ΙΩ

640 οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ὑμῖν ἀπιστῆσαί με χρή·
σαφεῖ δὲ μύθῳ πᾶν ὅπερ προσχρῄζετε
πεύσεσθε· καίτοι καὶ λέγουσ' αἰσχύνομαι
θεόσσυτον χειμῶνα καὶ διαφθορὰν
μορφῆς, ὅθεν μοι σχετλίᾳ προσέπτατο.

637 τἀποκλ- γρI *b k*: κἀποκλ- M I *b k*: ἀποκλ- *b*.

IO

Why then are you waiting, instead of telling it all to me?

PROMETHEUS

Not from any ill-will, but I am reluctant to disturb your mind.

IO

Do not take more care for my welfare than pleases me.

PROMETHEUS

Since you are so eager, I must speak. Listen, then.

CHORUS

Not yet! Give me, too, a share of the pleasure. Let us first ask about her affliction, and let her tell us herself of her disastrous fortunes; as to the trials that still await her, let her be informed by you.

PROMETHEUS

It is for you, Io, to do this group a favour, especially since they are sisters of your father.[76] It is something worth while to weep and lament thoroughly over one's misfortunes, in circumstances where one can expect to wring tears from the listeners.

IO

I do not know how I can refuse your request. You will learn clearly everything you want to know—though I am ashamed even to speak of the god-sent tempest and the ruin of my appearance, how they swooped into my

[76] See note on 611.

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638 *ὅπου x* Σ^{Φ}: *ὅποι* M I *b*: *ὅπῃ b k*.
642 *αἰσχύνομαι* $\gamma\rho$M $\gamma\rho$I *b k*: *ὀδύρομαι* (from 637) M I *b k*.

αἰεὶ γὰρ ὄψεις ἔννυχοι πωλεύμεναι
εἰς παρθενῶνας τοὺς ἐμοὺς παρηγόρουν
λείοισι μύθοις· "ὦ μέγ' εὔδαιμον κόρη,
τί παρθενεύῃ δαρόν, ἐξὸν σοι γάμου
τυχεῖν μεγίστου; Ζεὺς γὰρ ἱμέρου βέλει
πρὸς σοῦ τέθαλπται καὶ ξυναίρεσθαι Κύπριν
θέλει· σὺ δ', ὦ παῖ, μὴ 'πολακτίσῃς λέχος
τὸ Ζηνός, ἀλλ' ἔξελθε πρὸς Λέρνης βαθὺν
λειμῶνα, ποίμνας βουστάσεις τε πρὸς πατρός,
ὡς ἂν τὸ Δῖον ὄμμα λωφήσῃ πόθου."
τοιοῖσδε πάσας εὐφρόνας ὀνείρασιν
ξυνειχόμην δύστηνος, ἔστε δὴ πατρὶ
ἔτλην γεγωνεῖν νυκτίφοιτ' ὀνείρατα.
ὁ δ' εἴς τε Πυθὼ κἀπὶ Δωδώνης πυκνοὺς
θεοπρόπους ἴαλλεν, ὡς μάθοι τί χρὴ
δρῶντ' ἢ λέγοντα δαίμοσιν πράσσειν φίλα·
ἦκον δ' ἀναγγέλλοντες αἰολοστόμους
χρησμούς, ἀσήμους δυσκρίτως τ' εἰρημένους.
τέλος δ' ἐναργὴς βάξις ἦλθεν Ἰνάχῳ
σαφῶς ἐπισκήπτουσα καὶ μυθουμένη
ἔξω δόμων τε καὶ πάτρας ὠθεῖν ἐμὲ
ἄφετον ἀλᾶσθαι γῆς ἐπ' ἐσχάτοις ὅροις·
κεἰ μὴ θέλοι, πυρωπὸν ἐκ Διὸς μολεῖν
κεραυνόν, ὃς πᾶν ἐξαϊστώσει γένος.
τοιοῖσδε πεισθεὶς Λοξίου μαντεύμασιν

657 *νυκτίφοιτ' b k*: *νυκτίφαντ'* M I.

wretched life. In my maiden chamber I was persistently visited by nocturnal visions which coaxed me in smooth words: "Most greatly blessed maiden, why do you remain a virgin so long, when you could have the greatest of unions? Zeus has been struck[77] by a dart of desire coming from you,[78] and wishes to partake of Cypris with you. Do not, my child, spurn the bed of Zeus, but go out to the deep meadow of Lerna, among the flocks and cow-byres of your father, so that Zeus's eye may be assuaged of its desire." Every night I was miserably plagued by dreams like that, until I brought myself to tell my father about the dreams that kept coming to me nightly. He sent envoys repeatedly to Delphi and Dodona to consult the oracles, so that he could learn what he should do or say so as to act in a manner pleasing to the gods: they returned reporting ambiguous responses, their expression obscure and hard to interpret. Finally a clear word came to Inachus, plainly telling and enjoining him to thrust me out of my house and my native place, to wander unprotected[79] on the furthest confines of the land; and that if he refused, a fiery thunderbolt would come from Zeus that would annihilate his entire family. Persuaded by these oracles of Loxias, he

77 lit. "heated", cf. 590.

78 The dart or arrow of desire is here thought of as being emitted automatically by the person who becomes the object of desire, especially by her/his eyes; cf. *Ag.* 742–3, Sophocles fr. 157, Ibycus *PMG* 287.

79 The adjective ἄφετος was applied to cattle or other beasts belonging to a god, or set aside for sacrifice, which were allowed to roam free, usually in a sacred precinct.

ἐξήλασέν με κἀπέκλησε δωμάτων,
ἄκουσαν ἄκων, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπηνάγκαζέ νιν
Διὸς χαλινὸς πρὸς βίαν πράσσειν τάδε.
εὐθὺς δὲ μορφὴ καὶ φρένες διάστροφοι
ἦσαν, κεραστὶς δ᾽, ὡς ὁρᾷς, ὀξυστόμῳ
νύωπι χρισθεῖσ᾽ ἐμμανεῖ σκιρτήματι
ᾒσσον πρὸς εὔποτόν τε Κερχνείας ῥέος
Λέρνης τε κρήνην· βουκόλος δὲ γηγενὴς
ἄκρατος ὀργὴν Ἄργος ὠμάρτει, πυκνοῖς
ὄσσοις δεδορκώς, τοὺς ἐμοὺς κατὰ στίβους.
ἀπροσδοκήτως δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἄπτερος μόρος
τοῦ ζῆν ἀπεστέρησεν· οἰστροπλὴξ δ᾽ ἐγὼ
μάστιγι θείᾳ γῆν πρὸ γῆς ἐλαύνομαι.
κλύεις τὰ πραχθέντ᾽. εἰ δ᾽ ἔχεις εἰπεῖν ὅ τι
λοιπὸν πόνων, σήμαινε· μηδέ μ᾽ οἰκτίσας
ξύνθαλπε μύθοις ψευδέσιν· νόσημα γὰρ
αἴσχιστον εἶναί φημι συνθέτους λόγους.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἔα ἔα, ἄπεχε, φεῦ·
οὔποθ᾽ ‹ὧδ᾽› οὔποτ᾽ ηὔχουν ξένους
μολεῖσθαι λόγους ἐς ἀκοὰν ἐμάν,
οὐδ᾽ ὧδε δυσθέατα καὶ δύσοιστα
†πήματα λύματα δείματ᾽ ἀμφήκει

676 κερχνείας M I *k*: κεγχρ(ε)ίας *b k*: κερχρείας *b*: κεχρείας *b k*. 677 τε κρήνην Paley (σε κρήνην Canter): ἄκρην τε (ἄκραν τε *b k*: ἄκρον τε *b*: ἄκρην *b*: ἐς ἄκρην *b*) codd.
680 ἀπροσδοκήτως Headlam: ἀπροσδόκητος codd.
680 ἄπτερος Headlam, cf. Hesychius α6867: αἰφνίδιος codd.

expelled me and shut me out of his house—as reluctant to do it as I was to go: the bridle of Zeus compelled him against his will to act thus. Immediately my body and mind were twisted. I grew horns, as you now see, I was pricked by the sharp sting of a gadfly, and with maddened leaps I rushed off to the stream of Cerchnea,[80] good to drink from, and the spring of Lerna; and my footsteps were dogged by the earth-born herdsman Argus, intemperate in his fierceness, staring with his many eyes. A swift death unexpectedly robbed him of life, but I, harassed by the gadfly as if by a divine scourge, have been driven on from land to land. You hear what has happened to me. If you can say what still remains of my sufferings, tell me. And do not, out of pity, excite me[81] with false tales: I think that concocted stories are a most disgraceful plague.

CHORUS

Here, here, keep away! Ah,
never, never did I suppose such a strange tale
would come to my hearing,
nor that sufferings so painful to see, so painful to bear,
would strike my soul

[80] Cerchnea (later Cenchreae) was a village south-west of Argos (Pausanias 2.24.7), not far from Lerna.

[81] lit. "heat me up".

683–4 ὅ τι . . . πόνων *b*: ἔτι . . . πόνων I^{ssc} *b k*: ἔτι . . . πόνον M I *b*: ἔτι . . . πόνου *b*.

688 οὔποθ' <ὧδ'> Wecklein: οὔποτ' M I *b k*: om. *k*.

691–3 so codd. (λύματα om. *b'*, δείματ' om. *b'*): perh. πήματα δειμάτων | ἀμφήκει κέντρῳ τύψειν (Wilamowitz) μοι ψυχάν (Page).

κέντρῳ ψύχειν ψυχὰν ἐμάν†.
ἰὼ μοῖρα μοῖρα·
πέφρικ᾽ εἰσιδοῦσα πρᾶξιν Ἰοῦς.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

πρῴ γε στενάζεις καὶ φόβου πλέα τις εἶ·
ἐπίσχες, ἔστ᾽ ἂν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ προσμάθῃς.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

λέγ᾽, ἐκδίδασκε· τοῖς νοσοῦσί τοι γλυκὺ
τὸ λοιπὸν ἄλγος προυξεπίστασθαι τορῶς.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

τὴν πρίν γε χρείαν ἠνύσασθ᾽ ἐμοῦ πάρα
κούφως· μαθεῖν γὰρ τῆσδε πρῶτ᾽ ἐχρῄζετε
τὸν ἀμφ᾽ ἑαυτῆς ἆθλον ἐξηγουμένης·
τὰ λοιπά νυν ἀκούσαθ᾽, οἷα χρὴ πάθη
τλῆναι πρὸς Ἥρας τήνδε τὴν νεανίδα.
σύ τ᾽, Ἰνάχειον σπέρμα, τοὺς ἐμοὺς λόγους
θυμῷ βάλ᾽, ὡς ἂν τέρματ᾽ ἐκμάθῃς ὁδοῦ.
πρῶτον μὲν ἐνθένδ᾽ ἡλίου πρὸς ἀντολὰς
στρέψασα σαυτὴν στεῖχ᾽ ἀνηρότους γύας·
Σκύθας δ᾽ ἀφίξῃ νομάδας, οἳ πλεκτὰς στέγας
πεδάρσιοι ναίουσ᾽ ἐπ᾽ εὐκύκλοις ὄχοις,
ἐκηβόλοις τόξοισιν ἐξηρτυμένοι·
οἷς μὴ πελάζειν, ἀλλ᾽ ἁλιστόνοις πόδας
χρίμπτουσα ῥαχίαισιν ἐκπερᾶν χθόνα.

694 ἰὼ Weil: ἰὼ ἰὼ codd.
700 χρείαν *b k*: χρείαν τ᾽ (ἠνύσασθε) M I *b k*.

with a double-pronged goad of terror![82]
Ió! Destiny, destiny!
I shudder when I see what Io is experiencing!

PROMETHEUS

You are groaning, and full of fear, so early? Wait until you have learned the rest as well!

CHORUS

Speak, tell us all. For the afflicted, you know, it is pleasant to understand clearly in advance the pain they have still to suffer.

PROMETHEUS

You obtained your previous request from me easily, since you first wanted to learn from her the account of her own trials. Now hear about the future, what sufferings this young woman is destined to endure at Hera's hands. And you, child of Inachus, take my words to heart, so that you may learn how your journey will end. In the first place, starting from here, turn towards the sunrise and travel over the uncultivated plains.[83] You will come to the nomad Scythians, who dwell in wicker homes, off the ground, on strong-wheeled wagons,[84] armed with far-shooting bows. Do not go near them: go on through and out of their country, keeping your path close to the rocky coast of the groan-

[82] I translate my tentative restoration (see textual note) of a very corrupt passage.

[83] Crossing northern Europe towards the Black Sea.

[84] Cf. Hesiod fr. 151; Pindar fr. 105b; Herodotus 4.46.3.

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711 ἐξηρτυμένοι vel sim. *b k*: ἐξηρτημένοι M I *b k*.
712 πόδας *k*: γύποδας M I *b k*: γε πόδας γρΣΦ.

λαιᾶς δὲ χειρὸς οἱ σιδηροτέκτονες
οἰκοῦσι Χάλυβες, οὓς φυλάξασθαί σε χρή·
ἀνήμεροι γὰρ οὐδὲ πρόσπλατοι ξένοις.
ἥξεις δ' Ὑβριστὴν ποταμὸν οὐ ψευδώνυμον·
ὃν μὴ περάσῃς, οὐ γὰρ εὔβατος περᾶν,
πρὶν ἂν πρὸς αὐτὸν Καύκασον μόλῃς, ὀρῶν
ὕψιστον, ἔνθα ποταμὸς ἐκφυσᾷ μένος
κροτάφων ἀπ' αὐτῶν. ἀστρογείτονας δὲ χρὴ
κορυφὰς ὑπερβαλοῦσαν εἰς μεσημβρινὴν
βῆναι κέλευθον· ἔνθ' Ἀμαζόνων στρατὸν
ἥξεις στυγάνορ', αἳ Θεμίσκυράν ποτε
κατοικιοῦσιν ἀμφὶ Θερμώδονθ', ἵνα
τραχεῖα πόντου Σαλμυδησσία γνάθος,

716 πρόσπλατοι I: πρόσπλαστοι M *b k*.
722 ὑπερβαλοῦσαν Groeneboom (after Wecklein): ὑπερβάλλουσαν codd.

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85 Cf. *Seven* 728. From here to 728 we are apparently to the north-east and east of the Black Sea, between the Cimmerian "Bosporus" (the Strait of Kerch, to the east of the Crimea) and Colchis (Georgia, cf. note on 415–6); yet it is *after* passing through this region that Io will cross the "Bosporus" (729–735). This geographical confusion may be accidental or intentional. The poet has retained the tradition of Io's crossing a strait that was thereafter named the Bosporus (cf. note on *Supp.* 546), transferring it from the Thracian to the Cimmerian strait; but he wants this

ing sea. Next, on your left hand, dwell the Chalybes,[85] workers in iron: beware of them, for they are savage and not safe for strangers to approach. You will then come to the Violent River,[86] not inaptly named; do not cross it—it is not easy to cross—until you come to Caucasus itself, the highest of mountains, where the river pours its strength out from the very summit. After crossing over those peaks close to the stars, you must take the way to the south, where you will come to the man-hating host of the Amazons, who will one day settle at Themiscyra on the Thermodon, where is the savage cape[87] of Salmydessus, in-

crossing to be a passage from Europe to Asia (734–5) and also from lands more or less known to Greeks (with violent but human inhabitants) to the realm of pure fantasy (populated mainly by monsters) described in 791–809. The boundary between Europe and Asia was sometimes said to lie at the Cimmerian Bosporus, sometimes (as in Aesch. fr. 191) at the river Phasis (Rioni) in Colchis (cf. Herodotus 4.45): either the poet has been misled into supposing these two watercourses to be one and the same, or he has deliberately shifted the location of the Bosporus in order to present it more strongly as a point of transition into a different and even more terrifying world. See further West, *Studies* 304–6.

86 This river, flowing north-west from the Caucasus, may well be the Kuban, which rises on the slopes of Elbruz (the highest peak in the Caucasus) and flows into the Sea of Azov not far from the Strait of Kerch (see previous note).

87 lit. "jaw".

ἐχθρόξενος ναύταισι, μητρυιὰ νεῶν.
αὗταί σ' ὁδηγήσουσι καὶ μάλ' ἄσμεναι·
ἰσθμὸν δ' ἐπ' αὐταῖς στενοπόροις λίμνης πύλαις
Κιμμερικὸν ἥξεις, ὃν θρασυσπλάγχνως σε χρὴ
λιποῦσαν αὐλῶν' ἐκπερᾶν Μαιωτικόν·
ἔσται δὲ θνητοῖς εἰσαεὶ λόγος μέγας
τῆς σῆς πορείας, Βόσπορος δ' ἐπώνυμος
κεκλήσεται. λιποῦσα δ' Εὐρώπης πέδον
ἤπειρον ἥξεις Ἀσιάδ'. ἆρ' ὑμῖν δοκεῖ
ὁ τῶν θεῶν τύραννος εἰς τὰ πάνθ' ὁμῶς
βίαιος εἶναι; τῇδε γὰρ θνητῇ θεὸς
χρῄζων μιγῆναι τάσδ' ἐπέρρεψεν πλάνας.
πικροῦ δ' ἔκυρσας, ὦ κόρη, τῶν σῶν γάμων
μνηστῆρος· οὓς γὰρ νῦν ἀκήκοας λόγους
εἶναι δόκει σοι μηδέπω 'ν προοιμίοις.

ΙΩ

ἰὼ μοί μοι, ἔ ἔ.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

σὺ δ' αὖ κέκραγας κἀναμυχθίζῃ· τί που
δράσεις, ὅταν τὰ λοιπὰ πυνθάνει κακά;

728 ἄσμεναι van Herwerden: ἀσμένως or ἁσμένως codd.
738 ἐπέρρεψεν (-ε) margin of unidentified ms. cited by Morell: ἐπέρριψε M I *b k*: ἐπέζευξε *b*: ἐπέζευξαι *b*.
740 μηδέπω 'ν Turnebus: μηδ' ἐπὼν codd.

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88 This digression on the future abode of the Amazons is irrelevant, unless it foreshadows a mention (not directly attested) in *Prometheus Unbound* of Heracles' battle with the Amazons at Themiscyra (cf. [Apollodorus], *Library* 2.5.9). It also involves a

hospitable to sailors, the stepmother of ships.[88] They will be very glad to guide you on your way. You will then come to the Cimmerian isthmus,[89] right at the narrow gateway to the lake; with a bold heart you must leave it, and cross the Maeotic channel. Your crossing will in all future time be much spoken of among men, and the channel will be named after it—Bosporus, "Strait of the Cow". Having thus left the land of Europe, you will have come to the continent of Asia. [*To the* CHORUS] Do you think that the autocrat of the gods is equally brutal in all his dealings? That god, because he wanted to sleep with this mortal girl, imposed these wanderings on her! [*To* IO] You found an unpleasant suitor for your hand, young woman; for with all of what you've so far heard, you should consider that you're not yet even at the beginning of things.

IO

Ió, oh, oh! ah, me!

PROMETHEUS

You are crying out and moaning aloud again. What can one imagine you will do when you learn what remains of your troubles?

further geographical confusion. Themiscyra, at the mouth of the river Thermodon, was in northern Asia Minor, nearer the eastern than the western end of the Black Sea; Salmydessus was in Thrace, north-west of Byzantium and the (Thracian) Bosporus, and the danger to ships in that area arose not from a rocky promontory but from extensive shoals (Xenophon, *Anabasis* 7.5.12). Possibly the poet was thinking of the cape near Themiscyra later called Herakleios Akra (Strabo 12.3.17).

[89] The eastern peninsula of the Crimea, ending at Panticapaeum (Kerch), capital of the Bosporan kingdom.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἦ γάρ τι λοιπὸν τῆδε πημάτων ἐρεῖς;

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

δυσχείμερόν γε πέλαγος ἀτηρᾶς δύης.

ΙΩ

τί δῆτ' ἐμοὶ ζῆν κέρδος, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν τάχει
ἔρριψ' ἐμαυτὸν τῆσδ' ἀπὸ στύφλου πέτρας,
ὅπως πέδοι σκήψασα τῶν πάντων πόνων
ἀπηλλάγην; κρεῖσσον γὰρ εἰσάπαξ θανεῖν
ἢ τὰς ἁπάσας ἡμέρας πάσχειν κακῶς.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

ἦ δυσπετῶς ἂν τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἄθλους φέροις,
ὅτῳ θανεῖν μέν ἐστιν οὐ πεπρωμένον·
αὕτη γὰρ ἦν ἂν πημάτων ἀπαλλαγή.
νῦν δ' οὐδέν ἐστι τέρμα μοι προκείμενον
μόχθων, πρὶν ἂν Ζεὺς ἐκπέσῃ τυραννίδος.

ΙΩ

ἦ γάρ ποτ' ἔστιν ἐκπεσεῖν ἀρχῆς Δία;

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

ἥδοι' ἄν, οἶμαι, τήνδ' ἰδοῦσα συμφοράν.

ΙΩ

πῶς δ' οὐκ ἄν, ἥτις ἐκ Διὸς πάσχω κακῶς;

749 πέδοι Dindorf: πέδῳ codd.
758 ἥδοι'(ο) vel sim. *b*: ἥδοις *b*: ἥδοιμ' vel sim. M I *b k*.

CHORUS

You mean you are going to tell her of sufferings that still remain for her?

PROMETHEUS

A stormy sea of ruinous sorrows.

IO

What good does life do me? Why do I not straight away throw myself from this rugged rock,[90] so that I can crash to the ground and be rid of all my troubles? It is better to die once and for all than to suffer terribly all the days of my life.

PROMETHEUS

You would certainly find it hard to endure *my* trials. For me, death is not in my destiny: that would have been a release from my sufferings. As it is, no end has been set for my toils, until Zeus falls from his autocratic rulership.

IO

You mean it is possible that Zeus will one day fall from power?

PROMETHEUS

I imagine you'd be pleased to see that event.

IO

Of course, seeing how Zeus has ill-treated me.

[90] It appears that at some point (perhaps at 613) Io has ascended to the stage-platform.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

ὡς τοίνυν ὄντων τῶνδε γαθεῖν σοι πάρα.

ΙΩ

πρὸς τοῦ τύραννα σκῆπτρα συληθήσεται;

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

πρὸς αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ κενοφρόνων βουλευμάτων.

ΙΩ

ποίῳ τρόπῳ; σήμηνον, εἰ μή τις βλάβη.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

γαμεῖ γάμον τοιοῦτον, ᾧ ποτ' ἀσχαλεῖ.

ΙΩ

θέορτον, ἢ βρότειον; εἰ ῥητόν, φράσον.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

τί δ' ὄντιν'; οὐ γὰρ ῥητὸν αὐδᾶσθαι τόδε.

ΙΩ

ἦ πρὸς δάμαρτος ἐξανίσταται θρόνων;

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

ἢ τέξεταί γε παῖδα φέρτερον πατρός.

ΙΩ

οὐδ' ἔστιν αὐτῷ τῆσδ' ἀποστροφὴ τύχης;

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

οὐ δῆτα, πλὴν ἔγωγ' ἂν ἐκ δεσμῶν λυθείς.

760 γαθεῖν σοι Zakas: εἶν σοι (in an erasure) M: μαθεῖν σοι *b k*: σοι μαθεῖν I.

764 ἀσχαλεῖ L. Dindorf: ἀσχαλᾶ(ι) codd.

PROMETHEUS
Well, you can take it that it is so, and rejoice.

IO
By whom will he be robbed of his autocratic sceptre?

PROMETHEUS
By himself—by his own foolish decision.

IO
In what way? Explain, if it doesn't do any harm.

PROMETHEUS
He will make a marriage that he will come to regret.

IO
With a goddess or a mortal? Tell me, if you can.

PROMETHEUS
Why do you ask what marriage? I must not speak or utter it.

IO
Is he to be removed from his throne by his wife?

PROMETHEUS
She will bear a son superior to his father.[91]

IO
And is there no escape for him from that fate?

PROMETHEUS
None, unless I were to provide it after being released from my bonds.

91 This probably identifies the mysterious female, for the audience, as Thetis; cf. Pindar, *Isthmian* 8.36–38.

ΙΩ

τίς οὖν ὁ λύσων ἐστὶν ἄκοντος Διός;

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

τῶν σῶν τιν' αὐτὸν ἐκγόνων εἶναι χρεών.

ΙΩ

πῶς εἶπας; ἦ 'μὸς παῖς σ' ἀπαλλάξει κακῶν;

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

τρίτος γε γένναν πρὸς δέκ' ἄλλαισιν γοναῖς.

ΙΩ

ἥδ' οὐκέτ' εὐξύμβλητος ἡ χρησμῳδία.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

καὶ μηδὲ σαυτῆς γ' ἐκμαθεῖν ζήτει πόνους.

ΙΩ

μή μοι προτείνων κέρδος εἶτ' ἀποστέρει.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

δυοῖν λόγοιν σε θατέρῳ δωρήσομαι.

ΙΩ

ποίοιν; πρόδειξον αἵρεσίν τ' ἐμοὶ δίδου.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

δίδωμ'. ἑλοῦ γάρ· ἢ πόνων τὰ λοιπά σοι
φράσω σαφηνῶς, ἢ τὸν ἐκλύσοντ' ἐμέ.

776 γ' Hermann: τ' M *b*: om. I *b k*.

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92 Io has no way of knowing whether this refers to her thirteenth child or (as it in fact does) to a descendant in the thirteenth generation. The descent line is (females in italics): *Io*, Epaphus,

IO

And who is going to release you, against the will of Zeus?

PROMETHEUS

It is destined to be one of your offspring.

IO

What are you saying? Is my son going to free you from your sufferings?

PROMETHEUS

He will be the third in birth on top of ten other births.[92]

IO

This time the meaning of your prophecy is not easy to guess.

PROMETHEUS

Then don't expect to learn about all *your* future troubles, either.

IO

Don't hold out a benefit to me and then rob me of it.

PROMETHEUS

I will present you with one or the other of two tales.

IO

What tales? Put them before me and give me the choice.

PROMETHEUS

I give it to you. Choose: I will tell you plainly either the troubles that remain for you, or the person who will release me.

Libya, Belus, Danaus (and Aegyptus), *Hypermestra* (and Lynceus), Abas, Acrisius, *Danaë*, Perseus, Electryon, *Alcmene*, Heracles.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

τούτων σὺ τὴν μὲν τῇδε, τὴν δ' ἐμοὶ χάριν
θέσθαι θέλησον, μηδ' ἀτιμάσῃς λόγου·
καὶ τῇδε μὲν γέγωνε τὴν λοιπὴν πλάνην,
ἐμοῖ δὲ τὸν λύσοντα· τοῦτο γὰρ ποθῶ.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

ἐπεὶ προθυμεῖσθ', οὐκ ἐναντιώσομαι
τὸ μὴ οὐ γεγωνεῖν πᾶν ὅσον προσχρῄζετε.
σοὶ πρῶτον, Ἰοῖ, πολύδονον πλάνην φράσω,
ἣν ἐγγράφου σὺ μνήμοσιν δέλτοις φρενῶν.
ὅταν περάσῃς ῥεῖθρον ἠπείρων ὅρον,
πρὸς ἀντολὰς φλογῶπας ἡλίου στίβει,
πόντον περῶσ' ἄφλοισβον, ἔστ' ἂν ἐξίκῃ
πρὸς Γοργόνεια πεδία Κισθήνης, ἵνα
αἱ Φορκίδες ναίουσι, δηναιαὶ κόραι
τρεῖς κυκνόμορφοι, κοινὸν ὄμμ' ἐκτημέναι,
μονόδοντες, ἃς οὐδ' ἥλιος προσδέρκεται
ἀκτῖσιν οὔθ' ἡ νύκτερος μήνη ποτέ·
πέλας δ' ἀδελφαὶ τῶνδε τρεῖς κατάπτεροι,
δρακοντόμαλλοι Γοργόνες βροτοστυγεῖς,
ἃς θνητὸς οὐδεὶς εἰσιδὼν ἕξει πνοάς.
τοιοῦτο μέν σοι τοῦτο φρούριον λέγω·

783 λόγου Elmsley: λόγους M I *b k*: οἴκους *b*.
791 φλογῶπας ἡλίου στίβει Hartung: φλ. ἡλιοστιβεῖς (-στείβ- M^{ac}) M I *b k*: ἥλιος φλ. στιβεῖς *b*.
792 πόντον M *b*: πόντου I *b k*.
792 περῶσ' ἄφλοισβον Girard: περῶσα φλοῖσβον codd.

CHORUS

Please be willing to give one of these favours to her and the other to me. Tell her about the rest of her wanderings, and tell me about your deliverer: I long to hear that.

PROMETHEUS

Since you are so eager, I will not refuse to tell you everything you ask for. First, Io, I shall tell you about the wanderings on which you will be driven: inscribe them on the memory-tablets of your mind. When you have crossed the stream that parts the two continents, go on towards the fiery rising of the sun, crossing a waveless sea,[93] until you reach the land of the Gorgons, the plain of Cisthene, where the Phorcides[94] dwell, three ancient maidens of swan-like aspect,[95] owning an eye in common and having only a single tooth, whom neither the sun with his rays, nor the moon by night, ever looks upon;[96] and near them their three winged sisters, the snake-tressed Gorgons, haters of humans, whom no mortal can look on and draw another breath. This is what I tell you as a warning to beware; now

93 An apt kenning to describe the south Russian steppe: see S. R. West, *Hermes* 125 (1997) 377–8.

94 Also called the Graeae. Like the Gorgons, they belong to the story of Io's descendant Perseus, who by seizing their shared eye and tooth forced them to tell him how to find the nymphs who possessed the equipment he needed to cut off Medusa's head.

95 Presumably meaning "white-haired" (cf. Euripides, *Bacchae* 1365; Aristophanes, *Wasps* 1064–5): the Graeae were white-haired from birth (Hesiod, *Theogony* 271).

96 The language echoes *Odyssey* 11.16, describing the Cimmerians, on whom the sun never looks because their country is "shrouded in mist and cloud".

ἄλλην δ' ἄκουσον δυσχερῆ θεωρίαν·
ὀξυστόμους γὰρ Ζηνὸς ἀκραγεῖς κύνας
γρῦπας φύλαξαι, τόν τε μουνῶπα στρατὸν
Ἀριμασπὸν ἱπποβάμον', οἳ χρυσόρρυτον
οἰκοῦσιν ἀμφὶ νᾶμα Πλούτωνος πόρου·
τούτοις σὺ μὴ πέλαζε. τήλουρον δὲ γῆν
ἥξεις, κελαινὸν φῦλον, οἳ πρὸς ἡλίου
ναίουσι πηγαῖς, ἔνθα ποταμὸς Αἰθίοψ.
τούτου παρ' ὄχθας ἕρφ', ἕως ἂν ἐξίκῃ
καταβασμόν, ἔνθα Βυβλίνων ὀρῶν ἄπο
ἵησι σεπτὸν Νεῖλος εὔποτον ῥέος.
οὗτός σ' ὁδώσει τὴν τρίγωνον εἰς χθόνα
Νειλῶτιν· οὗ δὴ τὴν μακρὰν ἀποικίαν,
Ἰοῖ, πέπρωται σοί τε καὶ τέκνοις κτίσαι.
τῶνδ' εἴ τί σοι ψελλόν τε καὶ δυσεύρετον,
ἐπανδίπλαζε καὶ σαφῶς ἐκμάνθανε·
σχολὴ δὲ πλείων ἢ θέλω πάρεστί μοι.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

εἰ μέν τι τῇδε λοιπὸν ἢ παρειμένον
ἔχεις γεγωνεῖν τῆς πολυφθόρου πλάνης,

817 ἐπανδίπλαζε Dindorf: ἐπαναδίπλαζε codd., Athenaeus 8.347c.

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97 The poet's ultimate source here is the epic *Arimaspea* ascribed to the semi-legendary figure Aristeas of Proconnesus, supposed to have lived in the seventh century. The griffins and Arimaspians were said to be at enmity, the latter trying to steal the

hear of another disagreeable sight. You must beware of the sharp-toothed, unbarking hounds of Zeus, the griffins, and the one-eyed, horse-riding host of the Arimaspians,[97] who dwell by the stream of the River Pluto,[98] which flows with gold: do not go near them. You will then come to a land at the furthest bounds of earth, to a black tribe that dwells at the sources of the sun,[99] where flows the River Aethiops. Follow the bank of this river until you come to the cataract[100] where the Nile pours down from the Bybline Mountains its holy stream, good to drink from. It will lead you to the three-cornered land of Nilotis,[101] where, Io, you are destined to found a settlement far from home for yourself and your children. If any of this is obscure and hard to understand, please ask again and you will learn it more clearly. I have ample leisure—more than I want.

CHORUS

If you have anything still left, or previously omitted, to tell her about her terrible wanderings, tell it. If you have told it

gold which was guarded by the former. See Herodotus 3.116, 4.13–14; Pausanias 1.24.6.

[98] i.e. "the River of Wealth".

[99] i.e. at the south-eastern extremity of the world, where Asia and Africa are evidently imagined as being joined together.

[100] The First Cataract, near the cities of Syene (Aswan) and Elephantine in Upper Egypt; it was regarded as the boundary between Egypt and Ethiopia (Herodotus 2.17, 2.29). Herodotus (2.28) had heard, but did not take seriously, a story that at this place there were twin mountain peaks and between them two springs from which one river flowed north as the Nile, another south towards Ethiopia: do our poet's "River Aethiops" and "Bybline [i.e. Papyrus] Mountains" reflect a version of this story?

[101] i.e. the Egyptian Delta.

λέγ᾽· εἰ δὲ πάντ᾽ εἴρηκας, ἡμῖν αὖ χάριν
δὸς ἥνπερ αἰτούμεσθα· μέμνησαι δέ που.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

τὸ πᾶν πορείας ἥδε τέρμ᾽ ἀκήκοεν·
ὅπως δ᾽ ἂν εἰδῇ μὴ μάτην κλυοῦσά μου,
ἃ πρὶν μολεῖν δεῦρ᾽ ἐκμεμόχθηκεν φράσω,
τεκμήριον τοῦτ᾽ αὐτὸ δοὺς μύθων ἐμῶν.
ὄχλον μὲν οὖν τὸν πλεῖστον ἐκλειψω λόγων,
πρὸς αὐτὸ δ᾽ εἶμι τέρμα σῶν πλανημάτων.
ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἦλθες πρὸς Μολοσσὰ γάπεδα
τὴν αἰπύνωτόν τ᾽ ἀμφὶ Δωδώνην, ἵνα
μαντεῖα θᾶκός τ᾽ ἐστὶ Θεσπρωτοῦ Διὸς
τέρας τ᾽ ἄπιστον, αἱ προσήγοροι δρύες,
ὑφ᾽ ὧν σὺ λαμπρῶς κοὐδὲν αἰνικτηρίως
προσηγορεύθης ἡ Διὸς κλεινὴ δάμαρ
μέλλουσ᾽ ἔσεσθαι—τῶνδε προσσαίνει σέ τι;—
ἐντεῦθεν οἰστρήσασα τὴν παρακτίαν
κέλευθον ᾔξας πρὸς μέγαν κόλπον Ῥέας,
ἀφ᾽ οὗ παλιμπλάγκτοισι χειμάζῃ δρόμοις·
χρόνον δὲ τὸν μέλλοντα πόντιος μύχος,
σαφῶς ἐπίστασ᾽, Ἰόνιος κεκλήσεται,
τῆς σῆς πορείας μνῆμα τοῖς πᾶσιν βροτοῖς.

822 ἥνπερ Hermann: ἥντιν᾽ codd.
829 γάπεδα Porson: δάπεδα codd.
831 θᾶκος Brunck: θῶκος codd.
835 προσσαίνει Ipc *b*: προσαίνει M Iac *b k*.

all, then give us, in our turn, the favour we ask for—I am sure you remember about it.

PROMETHEUS

She has heard about her journey right to the end. But so that she can know that what she has heard from me is not an empty story, I will tell her about the troubles she has endured before coming here, offering this as the evidence verifying my words. [*To* IO] I shall leave out the great majority of the story, and go straight to the last part of your wanderings. When you had come to the lands of Molossia and approached the lofty ridge of Dodona, home of the oracular seat of Thesprotian Zeus and of the incredible marvel of the speaking oak trees, by which you were addressed, openly and not in riddling words, as Zeus's glorious consort that was to be—does any of this strike a chord with you?[102]—from there, in gadfly-driven madness, you rushed on your way along the coast to the great Gulf of Rhea,[103] from which you have then had to run, as it were, before the storm, wandering in the opposite direction.[104] Know well that for the future that arm of the sea shall be called "Ionian", to be for all mankind a memorial to your journey.[105] You have all this as evidence that my mind can

102 lit. "fawn, smile on you", i.e. arouse pleasant recollections in your mind.

103 The Adriatic.

104 i.e. inland, crossing Europe towards the remote region where she now is.

105 In fact the name was normally applied in antiquity, as now, only to the area of sea south of the narrows between the heel of Italy and what is now Albania.

σημεῖά σοι τάδ' ἐστὶ τῆς ἐμῆς φρενός,
ὡς δέρκεται πλέον τι τοῦ πεφασμένου.
τὰ λοιπὰ δ' ὑμῖν τῇδέ τ' εἰς κοινὸν φράσω,
εἰς ταὐτὸν ἐλθὼν τῶν πάλαι λόγων ἴχνος.
ἔστιν πόλις Κάνωβος, ἐσχάτη χθονός,
Νείλου πρὸς αὐτῷ στόματι καὶ προσχώματι·
ἐνταῦθα δή σε Ζεὺς τίθησιν ἔμφρονα
< >
ἐπαφῶν ἀταρβεῖ χειρὶ καὶ θιγὼν μόνον·
ἐπώνυμον δὲ τῶν Διὸς γεννημάτων
τέξεις κελαινὸν Ἔπαφον, ὃς καρπώσεται
ὅσην πλατύρρους Νεῖλος ἀρδεύει χθόνα.
πέμπτη δ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γέννα πεντηκοντάπαις
πάλιν πρὸς Ἄργος οὐχ ἑκοῦσ' ἐλεύσεται
θηλύσπορος, φεύγουσα συγγενῆ γάμον
ἀνεψιῶν· οἱ δ' ἐπτοημένοι φρένας,
κίρκοι πελειῶν οὐ μακρὰν λελειμμένοι,
ἥξουσι θηρεύσοντες οὐ θηρασίμους
γάμους, φθόνον δὲ σωμάτων ἕξει θεός·
Πελασγία δὲ δεύσεται θηλυκτόνῳ
Ἄρει, δαμέντων νυκτιφρουρήτῳ θράσει·
γυνὴ γὰρ ἄνδρ' ἕκαστον αἰῶνος στερεῖ,
δίθηκτον ἐν σφαγαῖσι βάψασα ξίφος.

848–9 lacuna posited by Elmsley: <*παύσας τε μόχθων τῶνδε φιτύει γόνον*> (but placed after 849) Hermann.

860 δεύσεται Griffith: δέξεται codd.

see more than what is manifest. [*To the* CHORUS] The rest I shall tell to you and to her alike, going back to the same track my previous words were treading. There is a city called Canobus,[106] on the edge of land and sea, right at the mouth of the Nile where it lays down its silt. There Zeus will restore you to your right mind ‹and cause you to conceive›[107] simply by touching you and laying his hand on you, nothing to be afraid of. And you will bear a black child, Epaphus, named after the manner in which Zeus engendered him;[108] he will reap the fruits of all the land that is watered by the broad-flowing Nile. The fifth generation from him, a female brood of fifty children,[109] will come back to Argos, not by choice but in flight from a kindred marriage to their cousins; the cousins, their minds excited by lust, hawks following close behind the doves,[110] will come to hunt marriages that they should not have been hunting, but god will deny them possession of their bodies. The Pelasgian land will be drenched with blood by deadly female violence when the men are audaciously slain in the wakeful night; for each woman will deprive her husband of his life, dipping a two-edged sword in his blood. So may

106 See note on *Supp.* 311.

107 A line to something like this effect must have dropped out of the text; the next line shows that what Zeus will do with the touch of his hand is something that would normally require some more extensive action (cf. μόνον "simply") which was likely, in prospect, to arouse some apprehension in the person affected (cf. ἀταρβεῖ "nothing to be afraid of").

108 See notes on *Supp.* 44–47.

109 The Danaids; the passage 853–869 is virtually a *résumé* of the Danaid trilogy.

110 Cf. *Supp.* 223–6.

τοιάδ' ἐπ' ἐχθροὺς τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἔλθοι Κύπρις.
μίαν δὲ παίδων ἵμερος θέλξει τὸ μὴ
κτεῖναι ξύνευνον, ἀλλ' ἀπαμβλυνθήσεται
γνώμην· δυοῖν δὲ θάτερον βουλήσεται,
κλύειν ἄναλκις μᾶλλον ἢ μιαιφόνος.
αὖτη κατ' Ἄργος βασιλικὸν τέξει γένος.
μακροῦ λόγου δεῖ ταῦτ' ἐπεξελθεῖν τορῶς·
σπόρος γε μὴν ἐκ τῆσδε φύσεται θρασύς,
τόξοισι κλεινός, ὃς πόνων ἐκ τῶνδ' ἐμὲ
λύσει. τοιόνδε χρησμὸν ἡ παλαιγενὴς
μήτηρ ἐμοὶ διῆλθε, Τιτανὶς Θέμις·
ὅπως δὲ χὤπῃ, ταῦτα δεῖ μακροῦ λόγου
εἰπεῖν, σύ τ' οὐδὲν ἐκμαθοῦσα κερδανεῖς.

ΙΩ

ἐλελεῦ ἐλελεῦ·
ὑπό μ' αὖ σφάκελος καὶ φρενοπληγεῖς
μανίαι θάλπουσ', οἴστρου δ' ἄρδις
χρίει ζάπυρος·
κραδία δὲ φόβῳ φρένα λακτίζει,
τροχοδινεῖται δ' ὄμμαθ' ἑλίγδην,
ἔξω δὲ δρόμου φέρομαι λύσσης
πνεύματι μάργῳ γλώσσης ἀκρατής,

864 ἐπ' *b*: ἐς M I *b k*.
871 σπόρος Sikes & Willson: σπορᾶς codd.
877 ἐλελεῦ ἐλελεῦ Pauw (ἐλελεῦ *t*): ἐλελελελελεῦ sel sim. M I *b k*: ἰὼ ἰὼ λελελελεῦ λελελελελεῦ *b*.
880 ζάπυρος Askew: μ' (om. *b'*) ἄπυρος codd.
881 κραδία *k*: καρδία M I *b k*.

the bridal night be for my enemies![111] But one of the girls[112] will be charmed by desire into refraining from killing her bedfellow; she will choose the alternative of being called a coward rather than a polluted murderer. She will become the mother of a royal house in Argos. It would take a long narrative to recount it all explicitly, but from her line, at any rate, will be born a brave scion, famous for archery, who will release me from these sufferings. Such is the prophecy that was narrated to me by my mother of ancient birth, Themis the Titaness;[113] but how and in what way it is to happen would take a lengthy narrative to explain, and you would profit nothing by learning it.

IO begins to dance wildly again.

IO

Eleleu, eleleu!
My mind is struck again by hot spasms
of madness, and I am pricked
by the gadfly's fiery dart!
In terror my heart is thumping my midriff,
my eyes are rolling in circles,
I am blown off course by the wild winds
of insanity, I cannot control my tongue,

111 lit. "May such a Cypris come upon my enemies".

112 Hypermestra.

113 This description of Themis makes her a daughter of Uranus and Gaea (as in *Eum.* 2–3 and Hesiod, *Theogony* 135) and contradicts the statement in 209–210 that she is identical with Gaea; as perhaps once before (cf. note on 165), the poet has not kept consistently in mind the implications of his adjustments to the traditional genealogies.

885 θολεροὶ δὲ λόγοι παίουσ' εἰκῇ
στυγνῆς πρὸς κύμασιν ἄτης.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

στρ. ἦ σοφὸς ἦ σοφὸς ἦν
ὃς πρῶτος ἐν γνώμᾳ τόδ' ἐβάστασε καὶ
γλώσσᾳ διεμυθολόγησεν,
890 ὡς τὸ κηδεῦσαι καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀριστεύει μακρῷ,
καὶ μήτε τῶν πλούτῳ διαθρυπτομένων
μήτε τῶν γέννᾳ μεγαλυνομένων
ὄντα χερνήταν ἐραστεῦσαι γάμων.

ἀντ. μήποτε μήποτέ μ' , ὦ
895 Μοῖραι <∪–––>, λεχέων Διὸς εὐ-
νάτειραν ἴδοισθε πέλουσαν,
μήτε πλαθείην γαμέτᾳ τινὶ τῶν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ·
ταρβῶ γὰρ ἀστεργάνορα παρθενίαν
εἰσορῶσ' Ἰοῦς ἀμαλαπτομέναν
900 δυσπλάνοις Ἥρας ἀλατείαις πόνων.

ἐπῳδ. ἐμοὶ δ' ὅτε μὲν ὁμαλὸς ὁ γάμος,
ἄφοβος ἔφυ· δέδια δὲ μὴ

885 παίουσ' I *b k* Σ^{MDV} 884: πταίουσ' M *k* Σ^{M} 885.
895 Μοῖραι <μακραίωνες> Hermann: <τελεσφόροι> Μοῖραι Burges.
897 γαμέτᾳ *k*: ἐν γαμέται (-τῷ M^{ac}) M I *b k*.
899 ἀμαλαπτομέναν Dindorf (γ' ἀμ- Weil): γάμω (με γάμω *b'*) δαπτομέναν (δαπανομέναν M^{ac}) codd.

and its turbid, random flow of words
dashes against the hateful waves of ruin.

IO rushes away, in the opposite direction to that from which she entered.

CHORUS

Truly wise, truly wise was he
who first grasped this in his mind
and expressed it clearly with his tongue,
that it is best by far to marry in one's own station,
and that a poor man should not yearn to wed
either among those who luxuriate in wealth
or among those who glory in their high birth.

Never, never,
O < > Fates, may you see me
as the sharer of Zeus's bed,
nor may I be united with any partner from among the
heavenly ones:
for I am afraid when I see
Io, the man-shunning virgin, devastated
by the terrible, troublous, vagrant wanderings caused by
Hera.
For me, when marriage is on my own level,
it inspires no fear; but I do fear

---

900 δυσπλάνοις *x z*: δυσπλάνης *k*: δυσ(σ)σπλάγχνοις (*-νων b'*, *-νης* or *-νας k'*) M I *b k*.
901 ὅτε *x*, Arnaldus: ὅτι codd.
901–2 ἔφυ· δέδια δὲ μὴ Page: οὐ δέδια μηδὲ codd.
902 ἔρῳ anon., μ' Butler: ἔρως codd.

κρεισσόνων θεῶν ἔρῳ μ᾽
ἄφυκτον ὄμμα προσδράκοι.
ἀπόλεμος ὅδε γ᾽ ὁ πόλεμος, ἄπορα πόριμος· οὐδ᾽
ἔχω τί ἂν γενοίμαν·
τὰν Διὸς γὰρ οὐχ ὁρῶ
μῆτιν ὅπᾳ φύγοιμ᾽ ἄν.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

ἦ μὴν ἔτι Ζεύς, καίπερ αὐθάδη φρονῶν,
ἔσται ταπεινός, οἷον ἐξαρτύεται
γάμον γαμεῖν, ὃς αὐτὸν ἐκ τυραννίδος
θρόνων τ᾽ ἄιστον ἐκβαλεῖ· πατρὸς δ᾽ ἀρὰ
Κρόνου τότ᾽ ἤδη παντελῶς κρανθήσεται,
ἣν ἐκπίτνων ἠρᾶτο δηναιῶν θρόνων.
τοιῶνδε μόχθων ἐκτροπὴν οὐδεὶς θεῶν
δύναιτ᾽ ἄν αὐτῷ πλὴν ἐμοῦ δεῖξαι σαφῶς·
ἐγὼ τάδ᾽ οἶδα χῷ τρόπῳ. πρὸς ταῦτά νυν
θαρσῶν καθήσθω τοῖς πεδαρσίοις κτύποις
πιστὸς τινάσσων τ᾽ ἐν χεροῖν πύρπνουν βέλος·
οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ ταῦτ᾽ ἀπαρκέσει τὸ μὴ οὐ
πεσεῖν ἀτίμως πτώματ᾽ οὐκ ἀνασχετά.
τοῖον παλαιστὴν νῦν παρασκευάζεται
ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸς αὐτῷ, δυσμαχώτατον τέρας,
ὃς δὴ κεραυνοῦ κρείσσον᾽ εὑρήσει φλόγα

903 *προσδράκοι* *x*: *προσδάρκοι* M I^{ac}(?): *προσδράμοι* *b*: *προσδέρκοι* vel sim. I^{pc} *b k*: codd. then add *με* (transp. Butler, cf. above).

905 *τί* Meineke: *τίς* codd.

that the eye of a superior god, from which one cannot
flee,
may look on me with desire.
Against such a campaign one cannot fight, against such
craft one is helpless;
there would be nothing I could do with myself:
I cannot see how
I could escape the wiles of Zeus.

PROMETHEUS

I declare to you that Zeus, arrogant though his thoughts are, will yet be brought low: such is the union he is preparing to make, which will cast him out of his autocracy and off his throne into oblivion. Then indeed the curse of his father Cronus, which he uttered when *he* fell from his ancient throne, will be completely fulfilled. None of the gods, except myself, will be able to show him clearly the way to avoid such misery: I know it all, and how it will happen. So let him now sit there feeling secure, trusting in his celestial noise-making and brandishing his fire-breathing weapon in his hands: they will not avail in the least to save him from falling a disgraceful, unendurable fall. Such is the contender[114] that he is even now himself preparing against himself,[115] a monster almost impossible to fight against, who will discover a fire more powerful than the lightning-

114 lit. "wrestler" (cf. *Ag.* 171–2).

115 Prometheus makes it sound (cf. also 908–9, 939–940, 959) as though Zeus is likely, if not forewarned, to engender the fatal offspring in the very near future; in fact the crisis will not occur for many generations, but the poet wishes to motivate the sudden intervention of Hermes, his peremptory demands and his fearsome threats.

βροντῆς θ᾽ ὑπερβάλλοντα καρτερὸν κτύπον
θαλασσίαν τε γῆς τινάκτειραν νόσον,
925 *ἢ τρίκροον αἰχμὴν τὴν Ποσειδῶνος σκεδᾷ.*
πταίσας δὲ τῷδε πρὸς κακῷ μαθήσεται
ὅσον τό τ᾽ ἄρχειν καὶ τὸ δουλεύειν δίχα.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

σύ θην ἃ χρῄζεις, ταῦτ᾽ ἐπιγλωσσᾷ Διός.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

ἄπερ τελεῖται, πρὸς δ᾽ ἃ βούλομαι λέγω.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

930 *καὶ προσδοκᾶν χρὴ δεσπόσειν Διός τινα;*

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

καὶ τῶνδέ γ᾽ ἕξει δυσλοφωτέρους πόνους.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

πῶς οὐχὶ ταρβεῖς τοιάδ᾽ ἐκρίπτων ἔπη;

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

τί δαὶ φοβοίμην, ᾧ θανεῖν οὐ μόρσιμον;

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἀλλ᾽ ἆθλον ἄν σοι τοῦδ᾽ ἔτ᾽ ἀλγίω πόροι.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

935 *ὁ δ᾽ οὖν ποιείτω· πάντα προσδοκητά μοι.*

925 *ἢ τρίκροον* West: *τρίαιναν* codd.
934 *τοῦδ᾽ ἔτ᾽* Elmsley, Burges: *τοῦδ᾽ b k*: *τοῦδέ γ᾽* M I *b k*.

bolt, a mighty crash surpassing the thunder, and a weapon to plague the sea and shake the earth which will shatter to pieces the three-pointed spear of Poseidon. By stumbling into this evil fate, Zeus will learn how far apart are rulership and slavery.

CHORUS

You're just saying things against Zeus that you would *like* to be true.

PROMETHEUS

I am saying what will come to pass and *also* what I desire.

CHORUS

You mean it's actually to be expected that someone will lord it over Zeus?

PROMETHEUS

And he will have to bear an even harsher yoke of suffering than this.

CHORUS

How can you not be afraid to hurl out such words?

PROMETHEUS

Why should I be afraid, when death is not in my destiny?

CHORUS

But he could put you to a trial even more painful than this.

PROMETHEUS

Well, let him do so: nothing could take me by surprise.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

οἱ προσκυνοῦντες τὴν Ἀδράστειαν σοφοί.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

σέβου, προσεύχου, θῶπτε τὸν κρατοῦντ᾽ ἀεί·
ἐμοὶ δ᾽ ἔλασσον Ζηνὸς ἢ μηδὲν μέλει.
δράτω, κρατείτω τόνδε τὸν βραχὺν χρόνον
ὅπως θέλει· δαρὸν γὰρ οὐκ ἄρξει θεοῖς.
ἀλλ᾽ εἰσορῶ γὰρ τόνδε τὸν Διὸς τρόχιν,
τὸν τοῦ τυράννου τοῦ νέου διάκονον·
πάντως τι καινὸν ἀγγελῶν ἐλήλυθεν.

ΕΡΜΗΣ

σὲ τὸν σοφιστήν, τὸν πικρῶς ὑπέρπικρον,
τὸν ἐξαμαρτόντ᾽ εἰς θεοὺς ἐφημέροις
πορόντα τιμάς, τὸν πυρὸς κλέπτην λέγω·
πατὴρ ἄνωγέ σ᾽ οὕστινας κομπεῖς γάμους
αὐδᾶν, πρὸς ὧν γ᾽ ἐκεῖνος ἐκπίπτει κράτους·
καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι μηδὲν αἰνικτηρίως,
ἀλλ᾽ αὖθ᾽ ἕκαστα φράζε. μηδ᾽ ἐμοὶ διπλᾶς
ὁδούς, Προμηθεῦ, προσβάλῃς· ὁρᾷς δ᾽ ὅτι
Ζεὺς τοῖς τοιούτοις οὐχὶ μαλθακίζεται.

945 ἐφημέροις $I^{sscr(?)}$ *x*: τὸν ἐφημέροις *b k*: τὸν ἡμέροις M I *b k*.

948 γ᾽ *x*: τ᾽ codd.

CHORUS

Those who bow to Necessity[116] are wise.

PROMETHEUS

Revere and pray and truckle to whoever is currently in command! To me, Zeus matters less than nothing. Let him rule and act as he likes for this short time: he will not be ruling the gods for long. [*HERMES is seen approaching.*] But I see Zeus's message-boy is here, the servant of the new autocrat; he will certainly have something fresh to announce.

HERMES

You, the clever fellow,[117] too spiteful for your own good,[118] you who committed a crime against the gods by giving privileges to beings who live for a day, you, the fire-thief—it's you I'm talking to. The Father orders you to state what this union is about which you are bragging, the one that is to cause his fall from power; and you are to say this not in riddles, but plainly and precisely. And do not compel me, Prometheus, to make a second journey; you are aware that Zeus is not softened by such methods.

116 Greek Ἀδράστεια, lit. "inescapability". "I bow to Adrasteia" was a formula used to apologize for a remark that risked offending some divine power; the apology was usually made in advance (e.g. Plato, *Republic* 451a; Menander, *Samia* 503), but sometimes in arrear (e.g. Menander, *Perikeiromene* 304). The chorus are thus telling Prometheus that if he is wise, he will apologize at once for his rash remarks about Zeus.

117 Greek σοφιστής (see note on 62).

118 lit. "bitterly over-bitter", implying that Prometheus' disobedience to Zeus was the product of envy or resentment.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

σεμνόστομός γε καὶ φρονήματος πλέως
ὁ μῦθός ἐστιν, ὡς θεῶν ὑπηρέτου.
νέον νέοι κρατεῖτε, καὶ δοκεῖτε δὴ
ναίειν ἀπενθῆ πέργαμ᾽. οὐκ ἐκ τῶνδ᾽ ἐγὼ
δισσοὺς τυράννους ἐκπεσόντας ᾐσθόμην;
τρίτον δὲ τὸν νῦν κοιρανοῦντ᾽ ἐπόψομαι
αἴσχιστα καὶ τάχιστα. μή τί σοι δοκῶ
ταρβεῖν ὑποπτήσσειν τε τοὺς νέους θεούς;
πολλοῦ γε καὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἐλλείπω. σὺ δὲ
κέλευθον ἥνπερ ἦλθες ἐγκόνει πάλιν·
πεύσῃ γὰρ οὐδὲν ὧν ἀνιστορεῖς ἐμέ.

ΕΡΜΗΣ

τοιοῖσδε μέντοι καὶ πρὶν αὐθαδίσμασιν
εἰς τάσδε σαυτὸν πημονὰς καθώρμισας.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

τῆς σῆς λατρείας τὴν ἐμὴν δυσπραξίαν,
σαφῶς ἐπίστασ᾽, οὐκ ἂν ἀλλάξαιμ᾽ ἐγώ.

ΕΡΜΗΣ

κρεῖσσον γάρ, οἶμαι, τῇδε λατρεύειν πέτρᾳ
ἢ πατρὶ φῦναι Ζηνὶ πιστὸν ἄγγελον.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

< >·
οὕτως ὑβρίζειν τοὺς ὑβρίζοντας χρεών.

969 φῦναι *x*, cf. ΣΦ εἶναι: φῆναι codd.
969/970 lacuna posited by Reisig.

PROMETHEUS

Haughtily spoken and full of pride, these words are, for a mere menial of the gods! You[119] are young and your rule is young, and you *think* that you inhabit a citadel that grief cannot enter. Have I not observed two successive autocrats[120] cast out of it? And to the third, the one who reigns now, I shall see it happen too—very shamefully, and very soon. Do I seem to you at all to be afraid of the new gods, and cowering before them? I am very far indeed from that—the furthest possible! You hurry back the way you came; you will learn nothing of what you have asked of me.

HERMES

This is just the kind of arrogant behaviour by which you landed yourself in this trouble in the first place.

PROMETHEUS

I can tell you for sure, I wouldn't exchange my misfortunes for your servitude.

HERMES

Oh, I suppose it's better to be in servitude to this rock than to be the trusted messenger of my father Zeus!

PROMETHEUS

< >![121] That is how one ought to insult the insolent.

119 Plural, referring to the whole Olympian family.

120 Uranus and Cronus.

121 The lost line must have contained words even more offensive to Hermes than those Prometheus has used to him already.

ΕΡΜΗΣ

χλιδᾶν ἔοικας τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασιν.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

χλιδῶ; χλιδῶντας ὧδε τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἐγὼ
ἐχθροὺς ἴδοιμι· καὶ σὲ δ' ἐν τούτοις λέγω.

ΕΡΜΗΣ

ἦ κἀμὲ γάρ τι ξυμφοραῖς ἐπαιτιᾷ;

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

975 ἁπλῷ λόγῳ τοὺς πάντας ἐχθαίρω θεούς,
ὅσοι παθόντες εὖ κακοῦσί μ' ἐκδίκως.

ΕΡΜΗΣ

κλύω σ' ἐγὼ μεμηνότ' οὐ σμικρὰν νόσον.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

νοσοῖμ' ἄν, εἰ νόσημα τοὺς ἐχθροὺς στυγεῖν.

ΕΡΜΗΣ

εἴης φορητὸς οὐκ ἄν, εἰ πράσσοις καλῶς.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

980 ὤμοι.

ΕΡΜΗΣ

τόδε Ζεὺς τοὔπος οὐκ ἐπίσταται.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

ἀλλ' ἐκδιδάσκει πάνθ' ὁ γηράσκων χρόνος.

HERMES

You seem to be revelling in your present situation.

PROMETHEUS

Revelling? May I see my enemies revelling like this—and I'm counting you among them!

HERMES

Why, are you accusing me as well on account of what has happened to you?

PROMETHEUS

Quite simply, I hate *all* the gods who are so unjustly harming me after I helped them.

HERMES

From what I can hear, you've got a serious mental sickness.

PROMETHEUS

I'm happy to be sick, if it's a sickness to hate one's enemies.

HERMES

You'd be quite intolerable if you were prospering.

PROMETHEUS

Ah me![122]

HERMES

That is not an expression that Zeus understands.

PROMETHEUS

Well, time, as it grows old, teaches everything!

[122] This exclamation by Prometheus seems to be triggered by Hermes' mention, in connection with him, of the prosperity that is now so far away.

ΕΡΜΗΣ

καὶ μὴν σύ γ᾽ οὔπω σωφρονεῖν ἐπίστασαι.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

σὲ γὰρ προσηύδων οὐκ ἄν, ὅνθ᾽ ὑπηρέτην.

ΕΡΜΗΣ

ἐρεῖν ἔοικας οὐδὲν ὧν χρῄζει πατήρ.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

καὶ μὴν ὀφείλων γ᾽ ἂν τίνοιμ᾽ αὐτῷ χάριν.

ΕΡΜΗΣ

ἐκερτόμησας δῆθεν ὥστε παῖδά με.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

οὐ γὰρ σὺ παῖς τε κἄτι τοῦδ᾽ ἀνούστερος,
εἰ προσδοκᾷς ἐμοῦ τι πεύσεσθαι πάρα;
οὐκ ἔστιν ᾗκισμ᾽ οὐδὲ μηχάνημ᾽ ὅτῳ
προτρέψεταί με Ζεὺς γεγωνῆσαι τάδε
πρὶν ἂν χαλασθῇ δεσμὰ λυμαντήρια.
πρὸς ταῦτα ῥιπτείσθω μὲν αἰθαλοῦσσα φλόξ,
λευκοπτέρῳ δὲ νιφάδι καὶ βροντήμασι
χθονίοις κυκάτω πάντα καὶ ταρασσέτω·
γνάμψει γὰρ οὐδὲν τῶνδέ μ᾽ ὥστε καὶ φράσαι
πρὸς οὗ χρεών νιν ἐκπεσεῖν τυραννίδος.

ΕΡΜΗΣ

ὅρα νυν εἴ σοι ταῦτ᾽ ἀρωγὰ φαίνεται.

986 ὥστε Hermann: ὡς codd.
992 ῥιπτείσθω West: ῥιπτέσθω codd.

HERMES

Well, *you* don't yet understand how to be sensible.

PROMETHEUS

No—if I were, I wouldn't be speaking to a menial like you.

HERMES

It looks as though you mean to say nothing of what the Father has asked you to say.

PROMETHEUS

Well, I'd willingly pay him that favour—if I owed him one.

HERMES

You seem to be making fun of me as if I were a child.

PROMETHEUS

Well, *aren't* you a child, or even more senseless than a child, if you expect to get any information from me? There is no ill-treatment, no contrivance, by which Zeus will induce me to reveal this secret, until these degrading bonds have been unloosed. So let him hurl his blazing fire, let him throw everything into turmoil and confusion with his white feathers of snow and his thunders rumbling beneath the earth: none of that will bend me to make me say at whose hands he is destined to fall from his supreme power.

HERMES

Consider whether this attitude seems likely to be to your advantage.

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992 *αἰθαλοῦσσα b* (?): *αἰθεροῦσ(σ)α γρ*M *γρ*I *b k*: *αἰθάλ(λ)ουσα* M I *b k*.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

ὦπται πάλαι δὴ καὶ βεβούλευται τάδε.

ΕΡΜΗΣ

τόλμησον, ὦ μάταιε, τόλμησόν ποτε
πρὸς τὰς παρούσας πημονὰς ὀρθῶς φρονεῖν.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

ὀχλεῖς μάτην με κὐμ᾽ ὅπως παρηγορῶν.
εἰσελθέτω σε μήποθ᾽ ὡς ἐγὼ Διὸς
γνώμην φοβηθεὶς θηλύνους γενήσομαι
καὶ λιπαρήσω τὸν μέγα στυγούμενον
γυναικομίμοις ὑπτιάσμασιν χερῶν
λῦσαί με δεσμῶν τῶνδε· τοῦ παντὸς δέω.

ΕΡΜΗΣ

λέγων ἔοικα πολλὰ καὶ μάτην ἐρεῖν·
τέγγῃ γὰρ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ μαλθάσσῃ λιταῖς
ἐμαῖς, δακὼν δὲ στόμιον ὡς νεοζυγὴς
πῶλος βιαζῃ καὶ πρὸς ἡνίας μάχῃ.
ἀτὰρ σφοδρύνῃ γ᾽ ἀσθενεῖ σοφίσματι·
αὐθαδία γὰρ τῷ φρονοῦντι μὴ καλῶς
αὐτὴ κατ᾽ αὐτὴν οὐδενὸς μεῖζον σθένει.
σκέψαι δ᾽, ἐὰν μὴ τοῖς ἐμοῖς πεισθῇς λόγοις,
οἷός σε χειμὼν καὶ κακῶν τρικυμία
ἔπεισ᾽ ἄφυκτος. πρῶτα μὲν γὰρ ὀκρίδα
φάραγγα βροντῇ καὶ κεραυνίᾳ φλογὶ
πατὴρ σπαράξει τήνδε καὶ κρύψει δέμας
τὸ σόν, πετραία δ᾽ ἀγκάλη σε βαστάσει.
μακρὸν δὲ μῆκος ἐκτελευτήσας χρόνου

PROMETHEUS

This has all been considered, and planned, long ago.

HERMES

Bring yourself, you fool, bring yourself at long last, in the light of your present sufferings, to take a sensible view.

PROMETHEUS

You are making yourself a nuisance to no purpose, as if you were giving advice to the waves. Let it never enter your thoughts that I might fear the intentions of Zeus, become womanish in mentality, and implore the one I hate so greatly, stretching out my upturned palms as women do, to free me from these bonds. One hundred per cent, no![123]

HERMES

It looks as though, however much I say, I will say it in vain. My entreaties have made you no softer or more pliable; like a newly-harnessed colt, you have taken the bit between your teeth, and you are struggling and fighting against the reins. But it is an unsound strategy that makes you so vehement: for someone who is not thinking sensibly, pure unadulterated obstinacy has no power at all. If you do not do as I have said, consider what a tempest, what a triple wave of evil, will assail you, from which no escape will be possible. In the first place, the Father will tear this rugged ravine wall into fragments with his thunder and the fire of his lightning-bolt, and will bury you under it, gripped in the embrace of the rocks. After the completion of a vast length of time, you will come back again to the

[123] lit. "I fall short of the whole ‹of that›".

ἄψορρον ἥξεις εἰς φάος· Διὸς δέ τοι
πτηνὸς κύων, δαφοινὸς αἰετός, λάβρως
διαρταμήσει σώματος μέγα ῥάκος.
ἄκλητος ἕρπων δαιταλεὺς πανήμερος,
κελαινόβρωτον δ' ἧπαρ ἐκθοινάσεται.
τοιοῦδε μόχθου τέρμα μή τι προσδόκα,
πρὶν ἂν θεῶν τις διάδοχος τῶν σῶν πόνων
φανῇ, θελήσῃ τ' εἰς ἀναύγητον μολεῖν
Ἅιδην κνεφαῖά τ' ἀμφὶ Ταρτάρου βάθη.
πρὸς ταῦτα βούλευ', ὡς ὅδ' οὐ πεπλασμένος
ὁ κόμπος, ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν εἰρημένος·
ψευδηγορεῖν γὰρ οὐκ ἐπίσταται στόμα
τὸ Διΐον, ἀλλὰ πᾶν ἔπος τελεῖ. σὺ δὲ
πάπταινε καὶ φρόντιζε, μηδ' αὐθαδίαν
εὐβουλίας ἄμεινον ἡγήσῃ ποτέ.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἡμῖν μὲν Ἑρμῆς οὐκ ἄκαιρα φαίνεται
λέγειν· ἄνωγε γάρ σε τὴν αὐθαδίαν

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124 "Like any half-eaten piece of offal, dark from exposure to the air and from dried blood" (Griffith).

125 This condition (which Zeus/Hermes evidently suppose to be impossible of fulfilment) will surely have been fulfilled, in some unexpected way, in *Prometheus Unbound*. It is almost certainly to be linked with the story about the centaur Cheiron told in [Apollodorus], *Library* 2.5.4, 2.5.11. Cheiron, who was immortal, having been painfully and incurably wounded by Heracles' arrow, longed to die but was unable to do so, thus becoming Prometheus' "successor in suffering" (in kind if not in degree) until "Prometheus gave to Zeus one who would become immortal in exchange

light; and then, I tell you, the winged hound of Zeus, the bloodthirsty eagle, will greedily butcher your body into great ragged shreds, coming uninvited for a banquet that lasts all day, and will feast on your liver, which will turn black with gnawing.[124] Of such torment expect no end until some god appears to be your successor in suffering and is willing to go down to rayless Hades and the dark depths of Tartarus.[125] Make your decision in the light of that, because this threat is no invention, it has all too certainly been uttered. For the mouth of Zeus does not know how to lie; he fulfils every word he speaks.[126] So consider and reflect: do not suppose that self-will is ever better policy than prudence.

CHORUS

In our opinion, what Hermes says is not beside the point:

for him". The "one who would become immortal" has often been taken to be Prometheus himself, but that is absurd, since Prometheus was immortal already; rather, Prometheus, with typical ingenuity, proposed that Cheiron's immortality should be conferred on *Heracles*, thus enabling Cheiron to die ("willing[ly] . . . go[ing] down to rayless Hades"), Heracles to become a god, and Prometheus to fulfil the condition laid down for his release. All this is likely to have occurred, as part of a general settlement, after Heracles had shot the eagle and after Prometheus had revealed the secret concerning Thetis. See D. S. Robertson, *JHS* 71 (1951) 150–5.

126 The text does not make the structure of Hermes' argument completely clear: his point is that (though he, Hermes, is a notorious liar and deceiver) the threats he has announced are not an "invention" by him but have "all too certainly been uttered" by Zeus, who never lies, and therefore they cannot be ignored.

μεθέντ᾽ ἐρευνᾶν τὴν σοφὴν εὐβουλίαν.
πείθου· σοφῷ γὰρ αἰσχρὸν ἐξαμαρτάνειν.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

εἰδότι τοί μοι τάσδ᾽ ἀγγελίας
ὅδ᾽ ἐθώυξεν· πάσχειν δὲ κακῶς
ἐχθρὸν ὑπ᾽ ἐχθρῶν οὐδὲν ἀεικές.
πρὸς ταῦτ᾽ ἐπί μοι ῥιπτείσθω μὲν
πυρὸς ἀμφήκης βόστρυχος, αἰθὴρ δ᾽
ἐρεθιζέσθω βροντῇ σφακέλῳ τ᾽
ἀγρίων ἀνέμων, χθόνα δ᾽ ἐκ πυθμένων
αὐταῖς ῥίζαις πνεῦμα κραδαίνοι,
κῦμα δὲ πόντου τραχεῖ ῥοθίῳ
ξυγχώσειεν τῶν οὐρανίων
ἄστρων διόδους· εἰς δὲ κελαινὸν
Τάρταρον ἅρδην ῥίψειε δέμας
τοὐμὸν ἀνάγκης στερραῖς δίναις·
πάντως ἐμέ γ᾽ οὐ θανατώσει.

ΕΡΜΗΣ

τοιάδε μέντοι τῶν φρενοπλήκτων
βουλεύματ᾽ ἔπη τ᾽ ἐστὶν ἀκοῦσαι.
τί γὰρ ἐλλείπει μὴ οὐ παραπαίειν
ἢ τοῦδ᾽ εὐχή; τί χαλᾷ μανιῶν;
ἀλλ᾽ οὖν ὑμεῖς γ᾽, αἱ πημοσύναις
ξυγκάμνουσαι ταῖς τοῦδε, τόπων

1049 *τῶν b k*: *τῶν τ᾽* M I *b k* $^{i}\Sigma^{\Phi}$. 1050 δὲ Schütz: *τε* codd. 1056 *μὴ οὐ* Wecklein: *μὴ* codd. 1057 *ἢ τοῦδ᾽ εὐχή* Winckelmann, G.C.W. Schneider: *ἢ τοῦδ᾽ εὐτυχῆ* M: *εἰ τοῦδ᾽ εὐτυχῆ b* $^{i}\Sigma^{\Phi}$ and (-χεῖ) I: *εἰ τάδ᾽ εὐτυχῆ* M *b k*.

he urges you to abandon self-will, and to pursue wise prudence. Follow his advice: it is shameful for the wise to err.

PROMETHEUS

When he announced this message to me, I tell you,
I already knew it; and there is no disgrace
in an enemy suffering ill-treatment from his enemy.
So let the double-ended tress of fire[127]
be hurled against me, let the air
be set awhirl by thunder and by a convulsion
of savage gales; let the wind
shake earth from its foundations, roots and all,
and let the waves of the sea with their ferocious surge
engulf the paths of the stars
in heaven; let him cast my body
headlong into black Tartarus,
whirling down in cruel compulsion:[128]
come what may, he won't kill me.

HERMES

That decision, and those words,
sound as though they came from a lunatic.
In what way do this fellow's boasts
fall short of insanity and mental derangement?

[*Addressing the* CHORUS]

But you at least, the sympathizers
with his suffering, should quickly

[127] The thunderbolt, often represented in art with a flame at both ends. [128] lit. "in hard whirls of necessity".

1058 γ' *ai b*: γε M I *b k*: δε *b*.

μετά *ποι* χωρεῖτ' ἐκ τῶνδε θοῶς,
μὴ φρένας ὑμῶν ἠλιθίωσῃ
βροντῆς μύκημ' ἀτέραμνον.

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἄλλο τι φώνει καὶ παραμυθοῦ μ'
ὅ τι καὶ πείσεις· οὐ γὰρ δήπου
τοῦτό γε τλητὸν παρέσυρας ἔπος.
πῶς με κελεύεις κακότητ' ἀσκεῖν;
μετὰ τοῦδ' ὅ τι χρὴ πάσχειν ἐθέλω·
τοὺς προδότας γὰρ μισεῖν ἔμαθον,
κοὐκ ἔστι νόσος
τῆσδ' ἥντιν' ἀπέπτυσα μᾶλλον.

ΕΡΜΗΣ

ἀλλ' οὖν μέμνησθ' ἁγὼ προλέγω,
μηδὲ πρὸς ἄτης θηραθεῖσαι
μέμψησθε τύχην, μηδέ ποτ' εἴπηθ'
ὡς Ζεὺς ὑμᾶς εἰς ἀπρόοπτον
πῆμ' εἰσέβαλεν.
μὴ δῆτ', αὐταὶ δ' ὑμᾶς αὐτάς·

1060 *ποι x*: *που* M I *b k*.
1071 ἁγὼ Porson: ἄτ' (ἄττ' *b' k'*) ἐγὼ codd.

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129 It is not clear whether the chorus ascend on to the stage-platform or merely group themselves close to it; the latter would be almost equally effective as a demonstration of solidarity, and would make it easier for the chorus to scatter at the end. Scatter, or at least flee, they must: to have them swallowed up together with Prometheus would be highly inconvenient, both from the

leave this place for some other,
lest the merciless roar of the thunder
strike the wits out of your minds.

CHORUS [*moving closer to* PROMETHEUS][129]
Say something else; give me advice
that will actually persuade me, because that was
certainly
not a tolerable suggestion that you trailed past me.
How can you advise me to behave like a coward?
I am willing to stay with him and suffer what I must;[130]
for I have learned to hate traitors,
and there is no plague
that I detest more than that.

HERMES
Well, remember what I have proclaimed,
and when disaster hunts you down
do not complain about your fate, nor ever say
that Zeus cast you into a calamity
that you had not foreseen.
No, indeed; you will have brought it on yourselves,

theatrical point of view and from that of the story, and 1091–3 suggests that at the end Prometheus is alone with the elements as he was before the chorus arrived (cf. 88–95).

130 This does not necessarily imply that the chorus intend to share all Prometheus' sufferings themselves; only that they are resolved never willingly to desert him. That they do in the end flee (cf. previous note) bears witness not to their cowardice or feebleness but to the staggering display of Zeus's power, which would numb any mind but that of Prometheus.

εἰδυῖαι γὰρ κοὐκ ἐξαίφνης
οὐδὲ λαθραίως
εἰς ἀπέραντον δίκτυον ἄτης
ἐμπλεχθήσεσθ' ὑπ' ἀνοίας.

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΥΣ

καὶ μὴν ἔργῳ κοὐκέτι μύθῳ
χθὼν σεσάλευται,
βρυχία δ' ἠχὼ παραμυκᾶται
βροντῆς, ἕλικες δ' ἐκλάμπουσι
στεροπῆς ζάπυροι, στρόμβοι δὲ κόνιν
εἰλίσσουσι, σκιρτᾷ δ' ἀνέμων
πνεύματα πάντων εἰς ἄλληλα
στάσιν ἀντίπνουν ἀποδεικνύμενα,
ξυντετάρακται δ' αἰθὴρ πόντῳ.
τοιάδ' ἐπ' ἐμοὶ ῥιπὴ Διόθεν
τεύχουσα φόβον στείχει φανερῶς.
ὦ μητρὸς ἐμῆς σέβας, ὦ πάντων
αἰθὴρ κοινὸν φάος εἱλίσσων,
ἐσορᾷθ' ὡς ἔκδικα πάσχω.

1093 ἐσορᾷθ' West: ἐσορᾷς μ' codd.

---

131 The staging of this finale must be consistent with the text, must respect the limits of what was possible in the fifth-century theatre, and must avoid the anticlimax that would certainly be felt if, when the words and the music had ended and the chorus had departed, Prometheus was seen bound to the rock as if nothing had happened. I suggested in *Aeschylean Tragedy* 313 that Prometheus "is attached to a board directly in front of, and indeed resting on, the central doors of the *skēnē*, and these doors are

for knowingly, not by surprise
nor by deception,
you will have been caught up in the inescapable net
of disaster through your own folly.

Exit HERMES. *Wild music begins to play, and thunder is heard.*

PROMETHEUS

Now in deed, no more in word alone,
the earth is shaking and reeling!
From the depths, in accompaniment, there bellows
the sound of thunder; fiery twists
of lightning shine out; the dust
is whirled by whirlwinds; the blasts
of all the winds at once leap at one another
in a raging display of mutual strife,
and sky and sea are blended into one.
Such is the tempest that has plainly come
from Zeus upon me, to strike terror.

[*As the* CHORUS *scatter and flee in panic*]

O my honoured mother, O Sky
around whom rolls the light that shines on all,
see how unjustly I suffer!

[*The rock breaks open, and* PROMETHEUS *disappears into its interior.*][131]

[now] suddenly opened (inwards . . .) [so that] the board with Prometheus on it will fall back into the dark interior . . . men [being] in readiness to stop the board hitting the floor and drag it back clear of the doors".

INDEX

This index includes all mentions of personal or place names in the (Greek) text of the plays, but only the more significant references in the introductions and annotations. *Pe = Persians; Se = Seven against Thebes; Su = Suppliants; Pr = Prometheus Bound.* In general, entries for countries, regions or cities (e.g. Phocis, Argos) include references to their peoples (e.g. Phocians, Argives). Boldface numerals indicate sections of a play where the character named is present on stage; mentions of the character's name within these sections are not separately indexed. Roman numerals refer to pages of the general Introduction to the volume, and "p." following a play title abbreviation refers to pages of the play's introduction; superscript numbers indicate footnotes on these pages.

Achaea (Phthiotis), *Pe* 488
Achaeans, designation for army attacking Thebes, *Se* 28, 324
Achelous, greatest Greek river, *Pe* 870n
Acheron, river or lake of the underworld, *Se* 856
Acrisius, father of Danaë, *Su* p.285[23]
Actor, Theban warrior, *Se* 555
Adeues, Persian commander, *Pe* 312
Adrasteia (Necessity), *Pr* 936
Adrastus, leader of the army attacking Thebes, *Se* 50, 324n, 575
Aëdon or Aëdona, wife of Tereus, *Su* 60n
Aegeus, father of Theseus, *Se* 858n
Aegyptus, brother of Danaus, *Su* 323; sons of, *Se* 9, 30, 105n, 335, 341, 387, 474, 741, 817, 906, 928, 1053
Aëria (Land of Mists), name for Egypt, *Su* 75
Aethiops, river of Africa, *Pr* 809
Aetna (volcano). *See* Etna, Mount
Aetna, city in Sicily, xii, xiii–xiv
Agathe Tyche (Good Fortune), *Se* 225n

Agbatana, capital of Media, *Pe* 15, 535, 961
Agonioi Theoi (Assembled Gods), *Su* 189, 242, 333, 355, 725n
Aidoneus. *See* Hades
Aischyne (Modesty), *Se* 409
Ajax, Salaminian hero of the Trojan War, *Pe* 307, 368, 596
Alastor, god of vengeance, *Su* 415, 646n
Amazons, race of warrior women, *Su* 287, *Pr* 415n, 723
Ameinias, allegedly brother of Aeschylus, xi[6]
Ameinias of Pallene, ship-captain at Salamis, xi[6], *Pe* 411n
Amistres or Amistris, Persian commander, *Pe* 21, 320
Amphiaraus, prophet, *Se* 379n, 569
Amphion, builder of Thebes' walls, *Se* 528
Amphistreus, Persian commander, *Pe* 320
Amun-Re, Egyptian god, *Su* 212n
Anchares, Persian commander, *Pe* 994
Andros, Aegean island, *Pe* 887
Antigone, daughter of Oedipus, *Se* pp.147–8, *Se* **{861–1078}**
Aphrodite, goddess (also called Cypris or Cytherea), *Se* 138, *Su* p.282, *Su* 554–5, 664, 1001, 1032, 1034, 1041, *Pr* 650, 864
Apia, name for the Argolid, *Su* 117, 128, 260, 777
Apis, Argive hero, *Su* 262, 269
Apis, Egyptian god, *Su* 117n
Apollo, god (also called Phoebus or Loxias), *Pe* 206, *Se* 146n, 159, 618, 691, 745, *Su* 214, 263, *Pr* 669; *Hebdomagetas*, *Se* 801; *Lykeios*, *Se* 146, *Su* 686; *Paeon*, *Se* 859
Ara(i), personified Curse(s), *Se* 70, 691, 955
Arabia, *Pe* 318, *Pr* 420
Arcadia, region of central Peloponnese, *Se* 547, 553
Archedemides, archon in 464/3, *Su* p.280
Arcteus, Persian commander, *Pe* 44, 312
Ares, god of war, *Pe* 86, 952, *Se* 45, 53, 64, 105, 115, 136, 161n, 244, 344, 412, 414, 469, 497, 532, 910, 945, *Su* 631, 665–6, 682, 702, 935, *Pr* 861
Argestes, Persian commander, *Pe* 308
Argolid, the district round Argos, *Su* 236
Argos, *Se* 59, 120, 548, 573, 679, *Su* 15, 269, 274, 278, 290, 292, 299, 324, 331, 605, 621, 625, 739, 760n, 980, *Pr* 854, 869. *See also* Apia
Argus, the many-eyed monster, *Su* 305, *Pr* 568n, 678
Arians, an Iranian people, *Pe* 994
Arima, mountain range in Cilicia, *Pr* 351n
Arimaspians, race of one-eyed horsemen, *Pr* 805

Ariomardus, governor of Thebes, *Pe* 38, 320, 968
Aristeides, Athenian statesman, *Pe* 447n, *Se* 594n
Aristias, tragic dramatist, xiv, *Se* p.139
Aristotle, philosopher, xxxii[69]
Arsaces, Persian commander, *Pe* 995
Arsames, Persian governor of Memphis, *Pe* 37, 308
Artabes, Bactrian commander, *Pe* 318
Artaphrenes (I), brother of Darius, *Pe* 776n
Artaphrenes (II), joint commander of Persian army at Marathon, *Pe* 21(?), 776n
Artaphrenes, conspirator against Mardus, *Pe* 776
Artembares, Persian commander, *Pe* 29, 302, 972
Artemis, *Se* 148n, 154, *Su* 145n, 1030; *Hecate*, *Su* 676; *Prostateria*, *Se* 449–450
Artemisium, battle of (480), *Pe* 342n
Asia, *Pe* 12, 57, 61, 73, 249, 270, 549, 584, 763, 882n, 929, *Su* 547, *Pr* 412, 735
Asopus, river of Boeotia, *Pe* 805
Assembled Gods. *See* Agonioi Theoi
Astacus, father of Melanippus, *Se* 407
Astarte, Semitic goddess, *Su* 555n
Astaspes, Persian commander, *Pe* 22
Astyages, king of Media (c. 585–550), *Pe* 765n
Astydamas (II), fourth-century tragic dramatist, xxxi
Astydamas (III), grandson (?) of the above, xxxi[66]
Atalanta, huntress, mother of Parthenopaeus, *Se* 532n
Ate (Ruin), *Pe* 98, 1007, *Se* 957, 1001
Athamas, father of Phrixus and Helle, *Pe* 70
Athena, goddess (also called Pallas), *Pe* 347, *Se* 131, 487, 501
Athens, *Pe* 231, 286, 287, 348, 355, 474, 716, 824, 976
Atlas, brother of Prometheus, *Pr* 348, 428
Atossa. *See* Xerxes, mother of
Axius, river of Macedonia, *Pe* 493

Babylon, *Pe* 52
Bactria, region of central Asia, *Pe* 306, 318, 732
Batanochus, father of the "King's Eye", *Pe* 981
Battle. *See* Dēris
Belus, father of Danaus and Aegyptus, *Su* 319
Bia (Violence), servant of Zeus, *Pr* **1–87**
Black Sea. *See* Pontus
Boeotia, *Pe* 482, 806
Bolbe, lake in Macedonia, *Pe* 494
Boreas, the North Wind, *Pe* p.7

Borrhaean (North) Gate of Thebes, *Se* 527
Bosporus: Cimmerian, *Pr* 715n, 733; name for Hellespont, *Pe* 723, 746; Thracian (at Byzantium), *Su* 546n
Bybline Mountains. at source of Nile, *Pr* 811

Cadmeans (i.e. Thebans), *Se* 9, 39, 47, 531, 543, 679, 1006, 1015, 1025, 1026, 1075
Cadmus, founder of Thebes, *Se* 1, 74, 120, 137, 303, 823, 1069
Calycadnus, river of Cilicia, *Su* 870n
Cambyses, king of Persia (529–522), *Pe* 773n
Canobus, city in Egypt, *Su* 311, *Pr* 846
Capaneus, one of the Seven against Thebes, *Se* 423, 440
Carnage. *See* Phonos
Carthage, *Pe* p.8
Caucasus, mountain range, *Pr* 422, 719
Cerchnea, village near Argos, *Pr* 676
Chalybians, an iron-working Scythian tribe, *Se* 728, *Pr* 715
Charon, ferryman of the dead, *Se* 856n
Cheiron, centaur, *Pr* 1029n
Chios, Aegean island, *Pe* 885
Chrysa, city in the Troad or in Persia, *Pe* 314
Cilicia, region of Asia Minor, *Pe* 327, *Su* 551, *Pr* 351
Cimmerian Isthmus (eastern Crimea), *Pr* 729–730
Cimon, Athenian statesman, xiv, xx, *Pe* p.10, *Pe* 869n
Cissia, city (?) in Persia, *Pe* 16, 120
Cisthene, home of the Phorcides and Gorgons, *Pr* 793
Cnidus, Greek city in SW Asia Minor, *Pe* 892
Cocytus, river of the underworld, *Se* 690
Colchis, land at extremity of Black Sea, *Pr* 415
Contentiousness. *See* Eris
Cratinus, comic dramatist, *Pr* p.434
Creon, brother of Iocaste, *Se* 474
Cronus, father of Zeus, *Pr* 185, 201, 220, 578, 911
Curse(s). *See* Ara(i)
Cyaxares, king of Media (c. 625–585), *Pe* 765n
Cybele, mother-goddess, *Su* 892n
Cychreus, Salaminian hero, *Pe* 570
Cycnus, son of Poseidon killed at Troy, xxv[43]
Cynegeirus, brother of Aeschylus, xi
Cynosura, eastern peninsula of Salamis, *Pe* 303n
Cypris. *See* Aphrodite
Cyprus, *Pe* 893, *Su* 282
Cyrus, king of Persia (c. 550–529), *Pe* 767, 773

Cyzicus, Greek city on the Propontis, *Pe* 878n

Dadaces, Persian commander, *Pe* 304
Danaë, mother of Perseus, *Su* p.285[23]
Danaus, fugitive ex-king of Egypt, *Su* pp.284–5, *Su* **1–503**, **600–775**, 969, {979}, **980–1073**; daughters of, *Su* **1–1073**, *Pr* 853n
Darius, king of Persia (521–485) (also called Darian), *Pe* 6, 145, 156, 160, 164, 198, 221, 244, 287n, 555, 621, 651, 663, 671, **681–842**, 856
Datamas, Persian commander, *Pe* 959
Delos, sacred Aegean island, *Se* 858n
Delphi, xxi. *See also* Pytho
Dēris (Battle), *Su* 412
Desire. *See* Pothos
Destiny. *See* Moirai; Potmos
Diaïxis, Persian commander, *Pe* 995
Dike (Justice), *Se* 646, 662, 667, 671, *Su* 343, 395, 710
Dirce, river near Thebes, *Se* 273, 307
Dodona, oracular shrine in NW Greece, *Su* 258, *Pr* 658, 830
Dorians, division of the Greek people, *Pe* 817
Doric, style of clothing, *Pe* 183
Doris, region of central Greece, *Pe* 486

Earth. *See* Ge
Ecbatana. *See* Agbatana
Edonia, region of Thrace, *Pe* 495
Egdadates, Persian commander, *Pe* 997
Egypt, *Pe* 35, 311, *Su* 75n, 874. *See also* Nile
Electran Gate of Thebes, *Se* 423
Eleusis, town in western Attica, ix. *See also* Mysteries
Empedocles, philosopher, *Su* 1041n
Enyo, war-goddess, *Se* 45
Epaphus, son of Zeus and Io, *Su* 47, 117n, 315, 589, *Pr* 851
Ephialtes, Athenian statesman, xx
Epigonoi, sons of the Seven against Thebes, *Se* 903n
Erasinus, river near Argos, *Su* 1020
Erinyes (Furies), *Se* 70, 574, 700, 723, 791, 886, 977, 988, 1055, *Pr* 516
Eriphyle, wife of Amphiaraus, *Se* 612n
Eris (Strife, Contentiousness), *Se* 1051
Eteocles, son of Oedipus, *Se* **1–77**, **181–286**, **372–719**, 830n, 1007
Eteoclus, one of the Seven against Thebes, *Se* 458
Ethiopia, *Su* 286, *Pr* 811n
Etna, Mount, *Pr* 365
Euaeon, son of Aeschylus, x, xxx

Euphorion (I), father of Aeschylus, ix–x
Euphorion (II), son of Aeschylus, xxix[58], xxx–xxxi, *Pr* p.433
Eupraxia (Success), *Se* 225
Europe, continent, *Pe* 799, *Pr* 734

Fates. *See* Moirai
Fear. *See* Phobos
Friendship. *See* Philia
Furies. *See* Erinyes

Gaumata. *See* Mardus
Ge (Earth; also called Gaea and Chthon), *Pe* 220, 523, 618, 629, 639, *Se* 69, *Su* 305, 890, 892, 900, 902, *Pr* 90, 205, 210
Gela, city in Sicily, xvii–xviii
Good Fortune. *See* Agathe Tyche
Gorgons, *Pr* 793, 799
Greece, Greeks. *See* Hellas, Hellenes

Hades, underworld god (also called Aidoneus), *Pe* 629n, 649–650, 923, *Se* 322, *Su* 228, 416, 791, *Pr* 152, 236, 433, 1029. *See also* "Zeus of the Underworld"
Halys, river of Asia Minor, *Pe* 866
Harmonia (Union), power associated with Aphrodite, *Su* 1041
Harmonia, wife of Cadmus, *Se* 105n, 138n
Hecate. *See* Artemis
Helios, the Sun god, *Pe* 232, 504, *Su* 213
Hellas, Hellenes, *Pe* 2, 49, 186, 234, 271, 334, 338, 351, 355, 358, 362, 369, 384, 388, 393, 402, 409, 417, 452, 455, 758, 790, 796, 810, 824, 900, *Se* 72, 269, *Su* 234, 237, 243, 914
Helle, daughter of Athamas, *Pe* 70, 722, 796, 866
Hellen, ancestor of the Hellenes, *Pe* 271n
Hellespont, strait separating Europe from Asia, *Pe* 70n, 723n, 745
Hephaestus, god of fire and metalwork, *Pr* **1–87**, 367, 619
Hera, goddess, *Se* 152, *Su* 162n, 291, 296, 564, 586–7, 1035, *Pr* 592, 600, 704, 900
Heracles, *Pr* 27n, 1029n
Hermes, god, *Pe* 629, *Se* 508, *Su* 220, 305, *Pr* **944–1079**; *Masterios*, *Su* 920
Herodotus, historian, *Pe* 342n
Hesione, daughter of Oceanus, *Pr* 559
Hieron, tyrant of Syracuse, xii, xiii–xiv
Himaeus, Persian commander, *Pe* 31
Himera, battle of (480), xiii, *Pe* pp.7–8
Himeras, river in Sicily, *Pe* p.7
Hippomedon, one of the Seven against Thebes, *Se* 488
Homoloïd Gate of Thebes, *Se* 571

Hybristes (Violent River), *Pr* 717
Hyperbius, Theban warrior, *Se* 504, 512, 519
Hypermestra, one of the Danaids, *Su* p.281, *Su* 1034n, *Pr* 865n
Hypsistan Gate of Thebes, *Se* 631n
Hystaechmas, Persian commander, *Pe* 972

Icaros, Aegean island, *Pe* 891
Inachus, river near Argos (and father of Io), *Su* 497, *Pr* 590, 663, 705
India, *Su* 284
Intaphrenes, conspirator against Mardus/Smerdis, *Pe* 776n
Io, Argive maiden loved by Zeus, *Su* 46n, 117n, 141n, 162, 292, 535, 540, 573, 777n, 1064, *Pr* **561–886**, 899
Ion of Chios, tragic dramatist etc., xi, xxi, xxii
Ionia, Greek-speaking region of Asia Minor, *Pe* 771, 881n, 899
Ionian mode in music, *Su* 69
Ionians, Persian term for Greeks, *Pe* 178, 564, 950–1, 1011, 1025
Ionian Sea, *Pr* 840
Ionic, style of clothing, *Pe* 183n
Iron, *Se* 730, 944
Ismene, daughter of Oedipus, *Se* pp.147–8, *Se* **{861–1078}**
Ismenus, river near Thebes, *Se* 273
Itys, son of Tereus, *Su* 60n

Justice. *See* Dike

Keres, spirits of vengeance, *Se* 1055
Kratos (Power), servant of Zeus, *Pr* **1–87**

Laius, father of Oedipus, *Se* pp.141–4, *Se* 691, 745, 802, 842
Lasthenes, Theban warrior, *Se* 620
Laureium, mining district of Attica, *Pe* 238n
Lemnos, Aegean island, *Pe* 891
Lerna, district near Argos, *Pr* 652, 677
Lesbos, Aegean island, *Pe* 884
Leto, mother of Apollo and Artemis, *Se* 147–8
Libya (Africa), *Su* 279
Libya (daughter of Epaphus), *Su* 317
Lilaeus, Persian commander, *Pe* 308, 970
Loxias. *See* Apollo
Lydia, region of Asia Minor, *Pe* 41, 770, *Su* 550
Lynceus, surviving son of Aegyptus, *Su* p.281
Lyrna, unidentifiable Asian city, *Pe* 324
Lythimnas, Persian commander, *Pe* 997

Macedonia, *Pe* 492
Maeotis, Lake (Sea of Azov) and Strait, *Pr* 418–9, 731
Magnesia, district of NE Thessaly, *Pe* 492

Magus, Arabian commander, *Pe* 318
Malian Gulf, *Pe* 486
Maraphis, *Pe* 778n
Marathon, battle of (490), xi, xvii, xxii, *Pe* 236n, 475
Mardi, a Persian tribe, *Pe* 993
Mardon, Lydian(?) commander, *Pe* 51
Mardus, king of Persia (522–521) (elsewhere called Smerdis or Gaumata), *Pe* 774
Mariandyni, people of NW Asia Minor, *Pe* 939
Masistres or Masistras, Persian commander, *Pe* 30, 971
Matallus, Persian(?) commander, *Pe* 314
Medes, alternative name for Persians, *Pe* 236, 791
Medus, first king of Media/Persia, *Pe* 765
Medus, son of Medea and Aegeus, *Pe* 765n
Megabates, great-grandfather of the "King's Eye", *Pe* 983
Megabates, Persian commander, *Pe* 22
Megareus, son of Creon, *Se* 474
Melanippus, Theban warrior, *Se* 414
Memphis, capital of Lower Egypt, *Pe* 36, *Su* 311
Memphis, Persian commander, *Pe* 971
Mesatus, tragic dramatist, xv, *Su* p.278
Miletus, city in Ionia, *Pe* p.2
Mists, Land of. *See* Aëria
Mitragathes, Persian commander, *Pe* 43
Mnemosyne (Memory), mother of the Muses, *Pr* 461n
Modesty. *See* Aischyne
Moira (Destiny), Moirai (Fates), *Pe* 101, *Se* 975, 986, *Pr* 516, 894
Molossia, region of NW Greece, *Pr* 829
Muses, *Pr* 461
Myconos, Aegean island, *Pe* 885
Mysia, region of Asia Minor, *Pe* 52, 322, 1054, *Su* 549
Mysteries, Eleusinian, xviii–xix

Naupactus, town in Ozolian Locris, *Su* 262
Naxos, Aegean island, *Pe* 885
Necessity. *See* Adrasteia
Neïstan Gate of Thebes, *Se* 460
Neoptolemus (I), fourth-century actor, xxxi[66]
Neoptolemus (II), third-century actor, xxxi[66]
Nile, river of Egypt, *Pe* 34, 311, *Su* 4, 281, 308, 497, 560, 855n, 922, 1024, *Pr* 812, 847, 852
Nilotis, name for Nile delta, *Pr* 814
North Gate of Thebes. *See* Borrhaean (North) Gate

Obedience. *See* Peitharchia
Oceanus, god, *Pr* 140, **284–396**, 531; daughters of, *Pr* **128–283**, **397–1093**

Oebares, Persian commander, *Pe* 984
Oecles, father of Amphiaraus, *Se* 382, 609
Oedipus, king of Thebes, *Se* pp.140–6, *Se* 203, 372, 654, 677, 709, 725, 752, 775, 801, 807, 833, 885, 976, 987, 1055
Oenops, father of Hyperbius, *Se* 504
Olympus, Mount, home of the gods, *Su* 161, 981, 1014, *Pr* 149
Onca, Theban goddess equated with Athena, *Se* 164, 487, 501
Oreithyia, daughter of Erechtheus, *Pe* p.7

Paeon. *See* Apollo
Paeonians, Thracian tribe, *Su* 256
Palaechthon, father of Pelasgus, *Su* 250, 348
Palestine, *Su* 555n
Pallas. *See* Athena
Pamphylia, region of Asia Minor, *Su* 552
Pan, rustic god, *Pe* 449
Pangaeum, mountain in Thrace, *Pe* 494
Paphos, city in Cyprus, *Pe* 894
Paros, Aegean island, *Pe* 885
Parthenopaeus, one of the Seven against Thebes, *Se* 536n, 547
Parthus, Persian commander, *Pe* 984
Pegastagon, Egyptian commander, *Pe* 35
Peitharchia (Obedience), *Se* 224
Peitho (Persuasion), *Su* 1040
Pelagon, Persian commander, *Pe* 959
Pelasgia, name for Argos or the Argolid, *Su* 253, 328, 349, 616, 624, 634, 912, 967, 1023, *Pr* 860
Pelasgus, king of Argos, *Su* p.283, *Su* **234–523**, **911–976**, 1010
Pericles, Athenian statesman, xiii, xx, *Pe* p.1
Perinthus, Greek city on the Propontis, *Pe* 878
Perrhaebia, district in northern Greece, *Su* 257
Perses, son of Perseus, *Pe* 79–80n
Perseus, hero, as ancestor of the Persians, *Pe* 79–80n
Persia, *Pe* passim
Persuasion. *See* Peitho
Pharandaces, Persian commander, *Pe* 31, 958
Pharnuchus, Egyptian commander, *Pe* 313, 967
Pheresseues, Persian commander, *Pe* 312
Philia (Friendship), *Se* 225n
Philocles (I), nephew of Aeschylus, xxxi
Phineus, Thracian prophet, *Pe* p.7
Phobos (Fear, Terror), *Se* 45, 500
Phocis, region of central Greece, *Pe* 485

Phoebus. *See* Apollo
Phoenicia, *Pe* 410, *Su* 122n, 555n
Phonos (Carnage), *Se* 574
Phorcides (or Graeae), *Pr* 794
Phrygia, region of Asia Minor, *Pe* 658n, 770, *Su* 548
Phrynichus, tragic dramatist, x, xii–xiii, *Pe* pp.1–3, *Pe* 1n
Pindar, lyric poet, xiii
Pindus, mountain massif in northern Greece, *Su* 257
Plataea, battle of (479), xi, xiii, *Pe* p.4, p.5, *Pe* 235n, 817
Plato, philosopher, xxxii[68]
Pluto, river near the world's end, *Pr* 806
Polyneices, son of Oedipus, *Se* 578n, 641, 658, 830n, 1013, 1067
Polyphontes, Theban warrior, *Se* 448
Polyphrasmon, tragic dramatist, xv, *Se* p.140
Pontus (Black Sea), *Pe* 879, *Se* 942n
Poseidon, god, *Pe* pp.8–9, *Pe* 750, *Se* 132n, 310, *Su* 218n, *Pr* 925
Pothos (Desire), *Su* 1039
Potmos (Destiny), *Su* 880
Potniae, village near Thebes, *Se* pp.141–2
Power. *See* Kratos
Pratinas, tragic dramatist, xiv, *Se* p.139
Procne, wife of Tereus, *Su* 60n
Proetid Gate of Thebes, *Se* 377, 395
Prometheus, god, *Pr* **1–1093**
Propontis (Sea of Marmara), *Pe* 878
Psammis, Persian commander, *Pe* 960
Psyttaleia, island off Salamis, *Pe* 447n
Pytho, name for Delphi, *Se* 747, *Pr* 658

Rhea, Gulf of (Adriatic), *Pr* 837
Rhea, mother of Zeus, *Su* 892n
Rhodes, *Pe* 892
Right. *See* Themis
Ruin. *See* Ate

Salamis, battle of (480), xi, xiii, *Pe* p.2, pp.4–5, *Pe* 273, 285, 309n, 342n, 447, 965
Salamis, city in Cyprus, *Pe* 895
Salmydessus, dangerous area of Black Sea coast, *Pr* 726
Samos, Aegean island, *Pe* 884
Sardis, capital of Lydia, *Pe* 45, 236n
Sarpedon's Bank, in Cilicia, *Su* 869–870
Scythia, country north of the Black Sea, *Se* 728, 817, *Pr* 2, 417, 709
Seisames, grandfather of the "King's Eye", *Pe* 983
Seisames, Mysian commander, *Pe* 322
Sepias, cape in SE Thessaly, *Pe* p.7
Sestos, town on Hellespont, *Pe* p.1

Seualces, Persian commander, *Pe* 969
Seventh Gate of Thebes, *Se* 631, 714, 800
Sicily, *Pr* 369
Sicinnus, slave of Themistocles, *Pe* 355n
Sidon, city in Phoenicia, *Su* 122, 133
Sileniae, coastal area of Salamis, *Pe* 303
Smerdis. *See* Mardus
Soli, city in Cyprus, *Pe* 894
Sophocles, tragic dramatist, xiv, xv, xvi[18], *Se* p.140[6], *Su* pp.278–9
Sosthanes, Persian commander, *Pe* 32
Sown Men. *See* Spartoi
Sparta, *Pe* 817n
Spartoi (Sown Men) of Thebes, *Se* 412, 474
Spercheius, river of central Greece, *Pe* 487
Sphinx, man-devouring monster, *Se* 541, 777n
Strife. *See* Eris
Strymon, river of Thrace, *Pe* 497, 869, *Su* 255
Styx, river of the underworld, *Pe* 668, *Su* 1033
Success. *See* Eupraxia
Sun. *See* Helios
Susa, capital of Persia, *Pe* 15, 535, 643, 730, 761
Susas, Persian commander, *Pe* 959
Susiana (Susis), region of Persia, *Pe* 119, 557
Susiscanes, Egyptian commander, *Pe* 34
Susiscanes, Persian commander, *Pe* 960
Syennesis, ruler of Cilicia, *Pe* 326
Syracuse, city in Sicily, xiii–xiv
Syria, *Pe* 84, *Su* 5, 871

Tartarus, lowest region of the underworld, *Pr* 154, 219, 1029, 1051
Tegea, city in Arcadia, *Su* 360n
Teiresias, Theban prophet, *Se* 24n
Tenagon, Bactrian commander, *Pe* 306
Tenos, Aegean island, *Pe* 886
Tereus, whose wife became the nightingale, *Su* 60
Terror. *See* Phobos
Tethys, consort of Oceanus, *Se* 311, *Pr* 137
Teucer, brother of Ajax, *Pe* 895n
Teuthrania, city in Mysia, *Su* 549n
Teuthras, stepfather of Telephus, *Su* 549
Tharybis, Lydian(?) commander, *Pe* 51, 971(?)
Tharybis of Lyrna, Persian commander, *Pe* 323, 971(?)
Thebes, capital of Upper Egypt, *Pe* 38, *Su* 212n
Thebes, chief city of Boeotia, *Se* p.139[1]
Themis (Right), *Su* 360

Themis, prophetic goddess, *Pr* 18, 209, 874; identified with Ge, *Pr* 209–210
Themiscyra, in northern Asia Minor, *Pr* 724
Themistocles, Athenian statesman, xii, xx, *Pe* p.1, p.2, pp.9–10, *Pe* 238n, 349n, 355n
Thermodon, river of Asia Minor, *Pr* 725
Theseus, Athenian hero, *Se* 858n
Thesprotia, region of NW Greece, *Pr* 831
Thessaly, *Pe* 489
Thetis, sea-goddess, *Pr* 768n
Thoth, Egyptian god, *Su* 220n
Thrace, *Pe* 509, 566, 871
Titans, children of Uranus and Ge, *Pr* 164n, 205, 427, 874
Tmolus, mountain in Lydia, *Pe* 49
Tolmus, Persian commander, *Pe* 998
Twelve Gods, *Su* 189n
Tydeus, one of the Seven against Thebes, *Se* 377, 380, 407, 571
Typhon or Typhos, monster vanquished by Zeus, *Se* 493, 511, 517, *Su* 561, *Pr* 354, 370
Tyre, city of Phoenicia, *Pe* 963

Union. *See* Harmonia
Uranus, grandfather of Zeus, *Pr* 164, 205

Violence. *See* Bia
Violent River. *See* Hybristes

Xanthes, Persian commander, *Pe* 994
Xanthippus, father of Pericles, *Pe* p.1
Xerxes, king of Persia (485–465), *Pe* 5, 144, 156, 199, 299, 341, 356, 465, 550–2, 718, 734, 754, 782, 832, **908–1077**; mother of, *Pe* **150–531**, **598–851**

Zeus, supreme god (also called "the Father"), *Pe* 206n, 271, 532, 740, 762, 827, 915, *Se* 69, 116, 127, 161, 255, 256, 301, 428, 443, 512, 517, 520, 521, 528, 614, 630, 662, 822, 948, 1074, *Su* 4, 18, 41, 45, 86, 87, 92, 139, 145, 162, 163, 169, 192, 206, 209, 212, 295, 300, 302, 313, 314, 437, 526, 536, 558, 575, 580, 585, 588, 599, 624, 631, 641, 646, 653, 689, 780, 811, 816, 835n, 885n, 892, 902, 1035, 1048, 1052, 1057, 1062, *Pr* 4, 10, 12, 17, 34, 40, 50, 53, 62, 67, 120, 122, 150, 163, 187, 194, 202, 203, 218, 241, 255, 304, 313, 339, 357, 358, 372, 376, 402, 510, 517, 519, 528, 542, 551, 590, 619, 649, 652, 654, 667, 672, 756, 757, 759, 771, 803, 834, 848, 850, 895, 906, 907, 928, 930, 938, 941, 947, 952, 969, 980, 984, 990, 1002, 1018, 1021, 1033, 1074, 1089; *Alexeterios, Se* 8; *Epiteleios Philios, Se* 225n; *Hikesios* (or

other names meaning "of suppliants"), *Su* 1, 347, 385, 478–9, 616; *Homaimon, Su* 402–3; *Klarios, Su* 360; *Ktesios, Su* 445; *Ourios, Su* 594; *Soter, Se* 225, 520, *Su* 26; *Thesprotos, Pr* 831; *Xenios, Su* 627, 671–2
"Zeus of the Underworld," name for Hades, *Su* 156–8, 231